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Melany E. Baehr and *Richard Renck*

"Official" vs. "Administrative" Criteria in Organizations
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Morale and Satisfaction: A Study in Time Perspective
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Book Reviews * Abstracts

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Abstracts 277

Melany E. Baehr
Richard Renck

The Definition and Measurement of Employee Morale

This paper discusses briefly some of the theories concerning the structure of morale and, in particular, reports the results of three separate research investigations. The investigations aim at defining the broad social sentiments shared by the general population of industrial employees which are the basic dimensions of the work environment. The same five dimensions or factors were identified in each of the three investigations. The consistency of these results as well as their congruence with those obtained by others suggests that five of the basic factors in the structure of morale have been identified.

Melany E. Baehr is a research associate and psychological consultant in the Industrial Relations Center, University of Chicago, working in the areas of factor analysis, attitude measurement, personality, and employee morale. Richard Renck, who is director of the measurement research division at the Center, has specialized in dealer-distributor relations and patterns of morale among scientists and engineers.[1]

[1]The authors wish to thank the managements of the many companies throughout the United States whose co-operation with the Industrial Relations Center has made this research possible. We are also indebted to the thousands of industrial employees on whom this research is based for their co-operation in filling in the *Employee Inventory*. In particular we gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Robert K. Burns, executive officer of the Industrial Relations Center and professor of the School of Business, University of Chicago, for his encouragement and assistance over the five-year period covered by this research; the late L. L. Thurstone, of the Psychometric Laboratory, University of North Carolina, and formerly of the University of Chicago, for guidance and discussions during the planning stages of the research; Professor

SINCE 1949 the Industrial Relations Center has engaged in research into the morale of industrial employees. The purpose of this paper is to summarize the previous factorial studies of the *Employee Inventory* and to report the results of our latest research into the factors underlying employee morale.

The research program has been focused on three objectives:

1. A theoretical definition of morale and the identification of its major dimensions.
2. The development of a scientifically sound instrument for the measurement of morale with an explicit rationale for the interpretation of the results.
3. The establishment of procedures for the improvement of morale.

Early research into employee morale was generally directed toward the fostering of group rapport or group solidarity and the internalization of management goals by employees. The expectation was that the achieving of these aims would have positive and beneficial effects on absenteeism, spoiled work, productivity, etc. It soon became apparent, however, that industrial employee morale was something more than group rapport. For "good" morale or a high level of morale to be maintained in a work group, some other conditions must be present. Among the most important of these are some measure of "success" in achieving group goals and some kind of individual and personal satisfaction. It therefore became necessary to study both the work group and the individual. Studies of the individual have centered on his prevailing needs, expectations, attitudes, and motives. As a result, some of the most significant work in the area of human motivation has been done in industrial settings.

A survey of the very extensive literature on morale yields definitions which are as varied as they are numerous. There seem to be, however, at least three distinct approaches to the problem of

David G. Moore, School of Business, Michigan State University, for many ideas concerning the conceptual framework of the *Employee Inventory*. We also wish to thank Professor J. P. Nash, Engineering Research Laboratory, University of Illinois, for permission to use the electronic digital computer there, and Kern Dickman, computer consultant, Digital Computer Laboratory, University of Illinois, for computing the orthogonal factor matrix and the sixth-factor residuals. We are, finally, indebted to the General Service Foundation whose generous contributions to this and other attitude research projects have provided much of the financial support for this research.

defining morale. These will be briefly discussed here. The first approach developed out of the classical "needs psychology" and includes those theories which stress the *personal determinants* of morale. In this approach, "needs" are seen as giving rise to "drives" which aim at the satisfaction of these "needs." A dichotomy between basic and acquired needs is generally made. Basic needs are those having a physiological substratum such as hunger, thirst, and sex; whereas derived or acquired needs are largely social, such as the need to achieve status and self-esteem and the need to affiliate with other people. Studies concerning the personal determinants of morale include those of McGregor,[2] Burling,[3] Allport,[4] and Fraser.[5]

The second approach to the definition of morale deals with a *hierarchy of needs*. The most systematic development of this concept is given by Maslow.[6] Very briefly, the theory holds that when basic needs are satisfied "higher" needs emerge which dominate the organism until these in turn are fully or partially satisfied. The physiological needs (hunger, thirst, sex, etc.) are regarded as the most basic and prepotent. When these are satisfied, "higher" needs arise which are more social in nature and which concern the realization of the self.

In a small but suggestive study by Haire and Gottsdanker[7] there is a discussion of the hierarchical character in the factors of morale. This is illustrated by the fact that "pay" appears to be a basic need and when "pay" is satisfactory "higher" self-actualization needs become dominant, whereas such needs are eclipsed when the individual's security is threatened and financial incentives are dominant.

[2]D. McGregor, "Conditions of Effective Leadership in the Industrial Organization," in S. D. Hoslett, ed., *Human Factors in Management* (New York, 1946), pp. 39–51.

[3]T. Burling, "Disruptive and Cohesive Forces in Job Situations, in G. W. Hartmann and T. Newcomb, eds., *Industrial Conflict: A Psychological Interpretation* (First Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, New York, 1939), pp. 125–130.

[4]G. Allport, "The Psychology of Participation," in Hoslett, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 253–265.

[5]J. M. Fraser, A Psycho-dynamic Approach to Industrial Relations, *Occupational Psychology*, 20 (1946), 132–138.

[6]A. H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation," in P. L. Harriman, ed., *Twentieth Century Psychology* (New York, 1946), pp. 22–48.

[7]M. Haire and J. S. Gottsdanker, Factors Influencing Industrial Morale, *Personnel*, 27 (1951), 445–454.

A third approach, stemming from the perspectives of Elton Mayo,[8] led to an emphasis upon the significance of interactions among members of a working group. It is held that, in work as in other activities, one of man's strongest characteristics is to be continuously associated with his fellows. The investigations at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company during the years 1927–1932[9] led to the conclusion that overriding the effect of changes in physical working conditions (such as levels of illumination, wage incentives, hours of work, length and position of rest pauses) upon output were the feelings and sentiments attached to being an integrated part of a special work group. The investigations made a very significant contribution in calling attention to the existence and importance of the "social" motives in industry and in showing the need to investigate the *pattern of group activity*.

Among the most systematic approaches to a theory of motivation applied to both individual and group patterns of behavior is the "field theory" as formulated by Lewin.[10] Viteles[11] has summarized the findings of individual studies applying field theory which have helped establish the importance of the view earlier formulated by the Hawthorne investigators. Levels of motivation and morale are not necessarily the end effects of specific incentives, i.e., of specific elements in the work situation or specific items of personnel practice. Levels of motivation and morale are a result of the total work situation and of its many overlapping dynamic interrelations which involve both the individual and the smaller groups in a larger social field.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE EMPLOYEE INVENTORY

In the construction of an instrument for the measurement of morale called the *Employee Inventory*, many hundreds of items were analyzed in an attempt to cover all the influences which affect the worker on the job. There are items which relate to financial

[8]E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (New York, 1933).

[9]F. W. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939).

[10]K. Lewin, *Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers*, ed. by D. Cartwright (New York, 1951).

[11]M. S. Viteles, *Motivation and Morale in Industry* (New York, 1953).

as well as nonfinancial incentives and to both on-the-job and off-the-job satisfactions. There is coverage of both the physical and the social environment. The items attempt to pinpoint both individual satisfactions and those derived from being a member of a group. An attempt was made, also, to differentiate between the attitudes toward the informal group and the formal organization structure.

Seventy-six items were included in the final selection. To each of these items the employee indicates whether he "Agrees," "Disagrees," or is "Undecided." On the basis of the judgments of experts in the field, these 76 items were classified and grouped into the following 14 categories:

1. Job Demands
2. Working Conditions
3. Pay
4. Employee Benefits
5. Friendliness and Co-operation of Fellow Employees
6. Supervisor-Employee Interpersonal Relations
7. Confidence in Management
8. Technical Competence of Supervision
9. Effectiveness of Administration
10. Adequacy of Communication
11. Security of Job and Work Relations
12. Status and Recognition
13. Identification with the Company
14. Opportunity for Growth and Advancement

The construction of the Inventory is described in detail in the *Manual for the SRA Employee Inventory*.[12] In general, the objective was to provide employees with a reasonably complete set of items, worded in the language used by them, through which they could adequately express their feelings and opinions about the work environment.

Theoretical Framework

The problem of interpreting Inventory results is nicely expressed by Moore,[13] who states that the employee does not generally view his environment in the way in which a questionnaire or survey

[12]R. K. Burns *et al., General Manual for the SRA Employee Inventory* (Chicago, 1952).

[13]D. G. Moore, "Employee Attitude Surveys in the United States" (a paper presented to the Tenth International Management Congress at Sao Paulo, Brazil, Feb. 1954).

usually presents his views, i.e., as a set of distinct and separate opinions. Moore continues that the employee is not a hedonistic calculating machine who registers "plus one" for every specific satisfaction that he gains from the work environment and "minus one" for each dissatisfaction. His specific views as expressed through the questionnaire are but fragments of broader, more complex patterns of attitudes. It is essential, therefore, that there be a well-defined rationale to assist the interpreter in piecing together the different opinions expressed by employees into the complex of attitudes which characterizes the way employees feel about the work environment.

The framework for the interpretation of the Inventory results is based on the observation that there are certain definable and identifiable similarities in the thinking of employees. Although some of the ideas which an employee has are unique and peculiar to him alone, many of his ideas are shared by others. For example, the members of his immediate work group will tend to have similar views because of the common experiences they have on the job. These shared concepts or views tend to be reinforced and maintained by the group. Besides the immediate work group, the individual employee's thinking is shared on an even broader basis. Rank-and-file workers, for example, have certain ideas growing out of their relations with management. Employees of a given company develop opinions and feelings which are similar simply because they are members of the same organization. Employees of a given profession or skill are also likely to share similar notions about themselves and their work environment. The further these feelings are removed from the immediate work group or organization, the more abstract they become, until finally they emerge as broad social sentiments which characterize the industrial population.

As in our past research in this area, the present research is directed toward the identification and definition of these broad sentiments which are an integral part of the industrial environment. In other words, what are the ideas which employees in general have about themselves and their work environment regardless of their particular job, company, or status? We are seeking to identify and define those social sentiments which are shared by the

industrial population of the United States. The ultimate objective is to express the Inventory results with respect to these basic dimensions of the work environment.

In this approach to the measurement of morale, which employs national sentiments as its yardstick, the satisfaction scores, either for a particular group of employees or for an organization as a whole, should be expressed in terms of national industrial norms. In a flourishing economy, it is to be expected that satisfactions derived from financial incentives will be de-emphasized or taken for granted and that, in the words of Maslow, "higher" needs, such as the needs for status and self-esteem and the need for self-actualization, will be stressed. On the other hand, in times of economic depression, the financial needs are likely to be prepotent. The use of national norms (which reflect employee sentiment in the functioning industrial economy) in the interpretation of morale scores eliminates much of the confusion induced by the apparent fluctuation and change in what is regarded by employees as important in their jobs.

Finally, to express these broad social sentiments through the Inventory, the satisfaction scores should be presented as a profile of scores. The measures included in the profile must be linearly independent, and if they are not also statistically independent, then the degree of correlation between them should be known to the interpreters. One method of studying the interrelationships between the measures included in the profile is the use of factorial procedures. Factorial studies of the *Employee Inventory* have assured the linear independence of the factors and furnished information concerning the degree of correlation between them. (The results of these studies are summarized in the next section.) The interpreters of the Inventory results should be concerned with the pattern of significantly high and low areas in the profile, or with what we have elsewhere called the "pattern of attitudes." If each datum in the Inventory is thought of as an index of an employee sentiment, a combination of these data will reveal patterns reflecting the broader sentiments which lie behind the particularized response to an Inventory item. If emphasis is placed on the pattern of response rather than on the absolute level of

response for particular factors, then the much-investigated but only partially resolved problem of the rank-ordering of factors in terms of their importance for morale becomes secondary.

RESULTS OF THE PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The previous research undertaken by the Center was concerned with the identification of the broad social sentiments which characterize the industrial population. More precisely, the objective of the past research was the identification of those dimensions in the work environment which could not be attributed to the shared experiences of specific work groups, specific occupations, or specific organizations. The research centered on the identification of those employee sentiments which cut across the specifics of the work situation and which represented what the general population of industrial employees regarded as the basic dimensions of the work environment.

This research employed two separate and independent factor analyses of the attitudes expressed toward the job and the organization through responses to the *Employee Inventory* made by two widely different groups of employees. The two groups of employees were different with respect to (a) the kind of organization, (b) the type of occupation, and (c) the status level of the employees whom they represented. The first group consisted of 134 employees from the national buying office of a large merchandising organization, and the second of 163 employees from a branch plant of a large manufacturing organization.

A comparison was made between the factors obtained from these two studies. Four factors were found which were almost identical in the two groups and a fifth which was very similar. The factors were designated and defined as follows:

1. *Integration in the Organization.* This factor deals with the employee's identification with the company as shown by pride and interest in the company and also with his feelings that he is part of a company which has an effective administration. These sentiments seem to be linked with an appreciation of good up- and down-the-line communication and with the belief that management has integrity and concern for employee welfare.
2. *Job Satisfaction.* This factor represents the intrinsic satisfac-

tions associated with actually doing the job and with the belief that the job affords opportunity for personal growth and advancement in the organization.

3. *Immediate Supervision.* The attitudes toward immediate supervision represented by this factor include both the human relations aspect and the purely administrative aspects of the supervisor's job.
4. *Friendliness and Co-operation of Fellow Employees.* This factor deals with the friendliness of fellow employees and their ability to work together without friction. It reflects interpersonal relations among employees on the job.

In the factor study of the first group, a factor with significant saturations on pay, benefits, status, and opportunities for growth and advancement was isolated. In the factor study on the second group, this factor appeared to be split into three parts, with pay and benefits distinct from the other categories. In this brief description of the factors obtained in the previous research, the more comprehensive factor obtained from the first group is defined below. All the elements in this factor, however, are included in the later analyses in order to determine whether they will appear again as a single factor or be split into two or more factors.

5. *Personal Rewards.* In this factor, satisfaction with pay and employee benefits is dominant, but it is not confined to satisfaction with material benefits alone. There is the satisfaction derived from doing something worth while on the job and having the job recognized as an important one. There is also the satisfaction derived from the knowledge that one can grow on the job and that there are possibilities for advancement.

Since these factors were common to two widely different groups of employees and, from general psychological knowledge, seem to represent crucial areas in the work life of the employee, we concluded that they represented certain basic factors affecting the morale of industrial employees regardless of job, work group, or company. A full description of these factorial investigations is given by Baehr.[14]

[14]M. E. Baehr, A Factorial Study of the SRA Employee Inventory, *Personnel Psychology*, 7 (1954), 319–336.

The essential characteristics of the five factors identified in the factorial studies can be described as follows.

Three of the factors deal with the employee's relationship to various groups:

Factor 1 deals with his relationship to the formal organization.

Factor 3 deals with his relationship to his supervisor, whose influence is directly felt in the work environment.

Factor 4 deals with his relationship to the primary work group.

The two remaining factors deal with more direct satisfactions:

Factor 2 deals with the satisfaction obtained from the performance of the job itself.

Factor 5 deals with material satisfactions and rewards, such as pay, benefits, status, etc.

In general the factors cover the individual satisfactions which the employee gains within the various group structures.

OBJECTIVES AND PROCEDURES OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The past research provided the theoretical background for the present investigation, which is the climax of the past work. In the present investigation, the problem was to determine if selected items from the *Employee Inventory* would group themselves into the five factors which were previously defined by the category scores. Since a factor may have significant saturations on as many as three different categories and since each category score is the group average of the responses to from 4 to 8 Inventory items, it is clear that a considerable number of items must be considered in selecting those to represent a factor. A panel of judges decided that the five factors could be represented adequately by a total of 30 carefully selected items.

The Experimental Population

The total population of employees to whom the Center had administered *Employee Inventory* surveys during January 1952 through March 1955 was drawn from 59 different companies consisting of 1,529 work groups which represent a total of 54,986 employes. These figures do not include follow-up surveys, which are generally administered after an interval of one year or more. The total population classified by both industry and occupation is shown in Table 1 (all tables are shown in the Appendix).

From this total population we wished to select an experimental population which was most representative of the employees surveyed by the Center. The distribution of the sizes of the groups surveyed ranged from 5 to 429 with a median of 25.9 and a mean of 37.7. After consideration of the distribution of group sizes, it was decided that the group sizes which were most representative of the groups surveyed by the Industrial Relations Center were those which ranged from 10 to 44 inclusive. In using an experimental population of groups whose sizes ranged only from 10 to 44 (see Table 2), it was found that the experimental population represented the same number of companies as the total population (i.e., 59) but the total number of work groups was reduced from 1,529 to 1,060 or 69.3 per cent of the total. The distribution of group sizes for the experimental population had a median of 21.9 and a mean of 22.5. A proportionate stratified sample of 400 groups selected from the experimental population, classified by industry and occupation, is shown in Table 3. This sample was used in the present investigation.

Statistical Procedures

A direct factorial analysis was undertaken in order to determine whether the selected items adequately represent the factors defined in the previous analyses. Diagram 1 (see Appendix) gives a summary of both the results of the past investigation and the objectives of the present investigation. In the present investigation, the principal axis orthogonal factor matrix was determined and rotated graphically to simple structure following the procedures of Thurstone.[15]

If the items selected by the panel of judges to represent each factor do actually have significant loadings for a factor isolated in this analysis, i.e., do actually group themselves together to form a factor, our previous results will be substantiated and our objectives achieved.

RESULTS OF THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

The results of the factorial procedures (principal axis solution) showed that the correlations between the scores of the 30 items selected from the *Employee Inventory* were represented by six factors. After rotation (simple structure) it was found that five of

[15]L. L. Thurstone. *Multiple-Factor Analysis* (Chicago, 1947).

the six factors could be readily interpreted. These factors account for 96.7 per cent of the total variance; the remaining factor was a doublet (i.e., was composed of only two items).[16]

In interpreting the factors of the present analysis which are given on the following pages, two facts should be borne in mind:

1. The "saturation" may be regarded as the correlation between the item and the factor which it represents. Thus, the higher the saturation for the item, the more important is the item in the description of the factor.
2. The rotations were done "blind," i.e., without knowledge of the items which the code numbers represented.

All six of the items selected to represent the original "Integration in the Organization" factor have significant saturations for

Factor A (Organization and Management)

*Variable No.**	*Item No.†*		*Saturation*
19	69††	Management really knows its job.	.75
18	68††	This company operates efficiently and smoothly.	.75
14	38††	Management here is really interested in the welfare of employees.	.57
25	23††	The longer you work for this company the more you feel you belong.	.53
28	26	There are plenty of good jobs here for those who want to get ahead.	.53
20	44††	Management keeps us in the dark about things we ought to know.	.51
29	51	The people who get promotions around here usually deserve them.	.40
21	47	I can be sure of my job as long as I do good work.	.36
26	50††	I really feel part of this organization	.34
5	59	The company's employee benefit program is O.K.	.37

*Code used to disguise items in the present analysis.

†The number of the item in the *Employee Inventory* booklet.

††Indiciates an item originally selected to represent this factor.

[16]The figures for the factoring procedures and the rotations are given in Tables 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 in the Appendix.

Factor A. Furthermore, the four highest saturations for Factor A are on selected items. It is clear, therefore, that the present direct analysis has confirmed the original selection of items for this factor. Four additional items dealing with job security and possibilities for advancement have been included in Factor A. Item No. 59 has a saturation of .38 on Factor C *(Material Rewards),* and since it logically fits there, it has been excluded from Factor A above. The remaining items are compatible with the original definition of the factor, but in order to include them specifically, Factor A has been designated *Organization and Management* and is defined as follows:

> This factor deals with the employee's relationship with management and the organization which management represents to him. In a sense, it is the image of management and the company in the employee's mind. Thus, it reflects sentiments of identification with the organization and of security for the present and future. It is also an evaluation of the communication in the organization and of management's efficiency, effectiveness, and concern for employee welfare.

Seven of the eight items selected to represent the "Immediate Supervision" factor have high saturations for Factor B, and no

Factor B (Immediate Supervision)

Variable No.	*Item No.*		*Saturation*
13	63*	My boss lives up to his promises.	.59
17	67*	My boss has the work well organized.	.59
15	40*	My boss keeps putting things off; he just lets things ride.	.53
16	66*	My boss knows very little about his job.	.52
10	10*	My boss gives us credit and praise for work well done.	.51
11	61*	My boss really tries to get our ideas about things.	.50
12	62*	My boss ought to be friendlier toward employees.	.42
21	47*	I can be sure of my job as long as I do good work.	.00

*Indicates an item originally chosen to represent this factor.

unselected items have significant saturations. The eighth selected item (Item No. 47) has a saturation of zero and will be excluded from the factor. Factor B is designated *Immediate Supervision,* and the definition of the factor is unchanged. It is given below:

> The attitude toward immediate supervision represented by this factor includes both the human relations aspect and the purely administrative aspects of the supervisor's job.

Factor C (Material Rewards)

Variable No.	*Item No.*		*Saturation*
4	57*	My pay is enough to live on comfortably.	.82
24	74*	I am very much underpaid for the work that I do.	.71
5	59*	The company's employee benefit program is O.K.	.38
22	22*	Sometimes I feel that my job counts for very little in this organization.	.22
29	51*	The people who get promotions around here usually deserve them.	.19
23	75*	I'm really doing something worth while in my job.	.06

*Indicates an item originally chosen to represent this factor.

All six of the items selected to represent the "Personal Rewards" factor have positive saturations for Factor C, and no unselected items have significant saturations for this factor. Only three of the six selected items, however, have sizable saturations (Item Nos. 57, 74, and 59). These three items deal with the material rewards aspect of the "Personal Rewards" factor. It is interesting to note that in one of Baehr's[17] previous analyses the "Personal Rewards" factor was split into three factors designated "Material Rewards," "Personal Recognition," and "Personal Development" respectively. Consideration of the available experimental evidence indicates that material rewards should be maintained as a separate factor.

[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 327 ff.

The three items (Nos. 22, 51, and 75) therefore will be excluded. Factor C is designated *Material Rewards* and is defined as follows:

> This factor deals with the material rewards the employee gets from his work both in terms of pay and in terms of employee benefits.

Factor D (Fellow Employees)

Variable No.	*Item No.*		*Saturation*
8	34*	The people I work with get along well together.	.69
9	60*	The people I work with are very friendly.	.69
6	7*	The people I work with help each other out when someone falls behind or gets in a tight spot.	.51
7	33*	A few of the people I work with think they run the place.	.29

*Indicates an item originally selected to represent this factor.

All four items originally selected to represent the "Friendliness and Co-operation of Fellow Employees" factor have positive saturations for Factor D, and no unselected items have significant saturations for this factor. Factor D is, therefore, designated *Fellow Employees,* and the definition, given below, remains unchanged.

> This factor deals with the friendliness of fellow employees and their ability to work together without friction. It reflects interpersonal relations among employees on the job.

Three of the six items (Nos. 53, 52, and 25) originally selected to represent the "Job Satisfaction" factor have the highest saturations for Factor E, and a fourth item (No. 26) has a small positive saturation. Four unselected items (Nos. 75, 22, 50, and 38) also have positive saturations for Factor E. Item Nos. 50 and 38 were originally selected for Factor A, and since they have significant loadings on Factor A, they have been included in that factor.

The two remaining selected items have negligible saturations for Factor E and, in fact, have negligible saturations for all the common factors in this analysis, the bulk of their variance being accounted for in a doublet. (See Factor F.)

Factor E (Job Satisfaction)

Variable No.	*Item No.*		*Saturation*
2	53*	My job is often dull and monotonous.	.57
30	52*	I can learn a great deal on my present job.	.55
27	25*	I have little opportunity to use my abilities in this organization.	.49
23	75	I'm really doing something worth while in my job	.49
22	22	Sometimes I feel that my job counts for very little in this organization.	.34
26	50	I really feel part of this organization.	.44
14	38	Management here is really interested in the welfare of employees.	.31
28	26*	There are plenty of good jobs here for those who want to get ahead.	.24
1	28*	They expect too much work from us around here.	.16
3	54*	There is too much pressure on my job.	.00

*Indicates an item originally selected to represent this factor.

The designation *Job Satisfaction* has been retained for Factor E, and it is defined as follows:

> This factor represents the intrinsic satisfactions associated with actually doing the job and with the belief that the job is worth while and affords opportunities for personal growth and development.

Factor F

Variable No.	*Item No.*		*Saturation*
3	54	There is too much pressure on my job.	.64
1	28	They expect too much work from us around here.	.56

This doublet is interpreted tentatively as dealing specifically with pressure on the job. Inspection of the original correlation

matrix shows the correlation between the items in this factor to be +.68. Item 54 has its highest intercorrelations with items which have significant saturations for Factor E, i.e., the factor for which these items were originally selected. Whether pressure on the job can be regarded as one aspect of the *Job Satisfaction* factor or whether it ought to be retained as a separate factor should be determined by further investigation.

The Correlations between the Primary Factors

The correlations between the primary factors are given in Table 9 and provide some useful and interesting information about the factors obtained in this analysis. Inspection of the table reveals that Factor B *(Immediate Supervision)* has fairly high correlations with every other factor in the analysis with the exception of Factor C *(Material Rewards)*. This tends to confirm the opinion held by many investigators that attitude toward immediate supervision is of central importance in employee morale.

In contrast to the *Immediate Supervision* factor, Factor C *(Material Rewards)* has no correlations greater than +.28 with another factor in this analysis. This tends to confirm the views of those investigators who hold that the "pay" need is relatively independent and important only because it sets a minimum level of expectation below which workers will refuse to function and that when the "pay" need is satisfied "higher" (e.g., emotional, social) needs become dominant. If this view is correct, pay can be conceptualized as a catalytic agent holding this basic structure of morale intact. It must be deduced, then, that a change in the attitudes toward pay—or, in other words, a change in the economic circumstances of U. S. employees—would lead to a restructuring of morale as we now know it.

There are two other correlations in Table 9 which are greater than +.35. These are between:

1. Factor E *(Job Satisfaction)* and Factor D *(Fellow Employees)*
2. Factor E *(Job Satisfaction)* and Factor A *(Organization and Management)*

It is reasonable to expect these dimensions of morale to be correlated, and such correlations are consistent with the tentative reconceptualization of morale given above.

The stability of the factors as revealed through three separate

factorial studies and the congruence of our results with those of other investigators suggest that we have isolated some of the basic dimensions in the structure of morale in the industrial population today.[18] Employees in particular work groups in particular companies may elaborate this basic structure in a variety of ways, but the basic structure seems to be similar from group to group.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Early work in employee morale was generally directed toward the fostering of group rapport and the internalization of management goals by employees. Later research indicated that employee morale was something more than group solidarity and the internalizing of management goals. Since the Western Electric studies, several lines of research have developed in this field. The particular line of research we have reported here is directed toward defining the commonly shared ideas which employees have about themselves and their work environment, irrespective of their job, company, or status in the organization. Our principal tools in this investigation were an employee attitude questionnaire, the *Employee Inventory*, and the technique known as multiple-factor analysis.

The results of two separate and independent factor analyses of employee attitudes on two widely different groups of employees yielded essentially the same five factors. These five factors, based on factor analyses of category scores (group averages for sets of related items), were thought to represent certain basic attitudes in the general industrial population which affect the morale of industrial employees.

The objectives of the present research were: first, to test again the reality of these five factors by a new factor analysis on a larger and more diverse sample of industrial employees; second, to define the factors in terms of individual items from the *Employee Inventory* rather than in terms of category scores.

A factor analysis of the intercorrelations for 30 carefully selected *Employee Inventory* items yielded five common factors and a sixth factor which was a doublet and given only tentative interpretation.

[18]For a discussion of the results of factor analyses by other investigators and for specific references, notably to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, see Viteles, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff.

Two of the factors in this analysis *(Immediate Supervision* and *Fellow Employees)* have significant saturations for practically all the items which were selected to represent them. For each of the remaining three common factors, at least the three highest saturations are for items selected to represent them. The only changes in the definitions of the factors defined in the previous research were to restrict the original "Personal Rewards" factor to *Material Rewards* only and to expand slightly the original "Integration in the Organization" factor to *Organization and Management.*

The correlations between the primary factors from this analysis reveal that *Immediate Supervision* has fairly high correlations with every other factor in the analysis except *Material Rewards.* This tends to confirm the opinion held by many investigators that the attitude toward immediate supervision is of central importance in the structure of employee morale. Pay, on the other hand, has no correlations greater than +.28 with any other factor. It can be viewed as relatively independent and as being important only in that it sets a minimum level of expectation below which workers will refuse to function. Only when the "pay" need is satisfied can higher, self-realization drives become dominant. A major change, then, in the economic circumstances of industrial employees would lead to a restructuring of employee morale as we have defined it.

The five primary factors of morale have been identified in three separate factorial analyses, using different experimental populations and two different scoring methods (category or item scores). The similarity of the factors obtained in our investigations as well as the congruence of our results with those obtained by others suggests that we have identified five of the basic factors in the structure of employee morale. The factors are defined as follows:

Factor A *(Organization and Management).* This factor deals with the employee's relationship with management and the organization which management represents to him. In a sense, it is the image of management and the company in the employee's mind. Thus it reflects sentiments of identification with the organization and of security for the present and future. It is also an evaluation of the communication in the organization and of management's efficiency, effectiveness, and concern for employee welfare.

Factor B *(Immediate Supervision)*. The attitude toward immediate supervision represented by this factor includes both the human relations aspect and the purely administrative aspects of the supervisor's job.

Factor C *(Material Rewards)*. This factor deals with the material rewards the employee gets from his work both in terms of pay and in terms of employee benefits.

Factor D *(Fellow Employees)*. This factor deals with the friendliness of fellow employees and their ability to work together without friction. It reflects interpersonal relations among employees on the job.

Factor E *(Job Satisfaction)*. This factor represents the intrinsic satisfactions associated with actually doing the job and with the belief that the job is worthwhile and affords opportunities for personal growth and development.

These factors describe the personal satisfactions which the employee derives from gainful occupation *(Material Rewards* and *Job Satisfaction)* and the employee's relationship to other groups in the work environment. One of these groups deals with management and the structure of the formal organization *(Organization and Management)*, and the others deal with the employee's relationship with the primary work group *(Fellow Employees)* and with his relationship to that group of employees *(Immediate Supervision)* whose influence permeates the work environment.

These factors represent some of the basic dimensions in the structure of morale in industrial society today. They represent a basic pattern of satisfactions which the employee hopes to derive as a member of various interrelated and overlapping groups within the organization. These five factors in employee morale have been defined in terms of 30 selected Inventory items, which are understandable to the industrial employee and to which he can respond. They can be used as a core of items for attitude survey questionnaires developed especially for particular types of employees (e.g., professional or retail employees) or for particular types of industries (e.g., manufacturing or merchandising). In short, the five factors identified by this research appear to be relatively stable, define basic dimensions of employee morale, and lend themselves to a variety of research purposes and pragmatic uses in many different types of organizations.

APPENDIX

Table 1. Total population matrix of groups surveyed, classified by occupation and industry.

APPENDIX

Table 1. Total population matrix of groups surveyed, classified by occupation and industry.

Occupation	Lumber and woods	Machinery	Musical instruments	Metal products	Professional equipment	Furniture	Chemicals	Textile products	Food products	Printing	Office supplies	Retail trade	Finance	Transportation	Research	Professional services	Totals
Top management	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	5	1	1	1	0	20
Middle management	3	4	1	11	1	0	1	1	3	2	2	5	0	0	0	0	34
1st line supervision	14	5	1	14	4	1	2	17	17	0	8	11	0	10	2	2	108
Professional workers	0	1	1	9	2	0	2	8	13	7	6	0	1	31	2	3	86
Technicians	0	0	1	6	2	0	3	4	6	2	8	0	0	7	0	2	41
Retail trade, buyers, etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	50
Office workers	15	5	5	30	12	1	9	39	75	28	17	56	25	34	0	2	353
Sales workers	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	6	10	5	0	101	0	17	0	1	142
Craftsmen	19	9	0	64	0	7	1	4	11	0	5	17	0	9	0	1	147
Operatives	41	11	0	97	14	4	14	26	57	0	25	42	0	7	0	0	338
Service workers	0	1	0	2	1	0	2	2	7	0	4	24	0	31	0	10	84
Laborers	62	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	69
Unclassified	15	1	2	8	2	0	3	4	5	0	0	4	1	12	0	0	57
	169	39	13	242	43	14	39	112	209	46	75	315	28	159	5	21	1529

Table 2. Experimental population matrix of groups (sizes 10 to 44) classified by occupation and industry.

Occupation	Manufacturing durables						Manufacturing nondurables				Miscellaneous					Totals
	Lumber and woods	Machinery	Musical instruments	Metal products	Professional equipment	Furniture	Chemicals	Textile products	Food products	Printing	Office supplies	Retail trade	Finance	Transportation	Professional services	
Top management		1	1	1	2	1		1	2	2		4	1	1		17
Middle management	2	4	1	10	1		1	1	3	1	2	4				30
1st line supervision	13	5	1	8	5	1	1	15	13		5	10		5	2	84
Professional workers		1	1	9	4		2	5	13	6	5			15		61
Technicians			1	5	2		3	3	5	1	7			7	2	36
Retail trade, buyers, etc.												47				47
Office workers	12	5	5	26	12	1	9	32	57	22	17	44	17	18	2	279
Sales workers			1		2			2	4	4		79		12		104
Craftsmen	8	8		57		6		3	9		4	15			1	111
Operatives	17	6		70	11	4	8	16	25		23	28			1	209
Service workers								1	4		2	13		22	4	46
Laborers	30	1			3				2							36
	82	31	11	186	42	13	24	79	137	36	65	244	18	80	12	1060

Table 3. Sample matrix of groups (sizes 10 to 44) classified by occupation and industry.

	Manufacturing durables		Manufacturing	Miscellaneous
	Lumber and woods	Machinery	Chemicals	Retail trade
Top management				
Middle management				
1st line supervision				
Professional workers				
Technicians				
Retail trade, buyers, etc.				
Office workers				
Sales workers				
Craftsmen				
Operatives				
Service workers				
Laborers				

	82	31	11	186	42	13	24	79	137	36	65	244	18	80	12	1060

Table 3. Sample matrix of groups (sizes 10 to 44) classified by occupation and industry.

	Manufacturing durables						Manufacturing nondurables				Miscellaneous					
Occupation	Lumber and woods	Machinery	Musical instruments	Metal products	Professional equipment	Furniture	Chemicals	Textile products	Food products	Printing	Office supplies	Retail trade	Finance	Transportation	Professional services	Totals
Top management					1	1		1	1			1		1		6
Middle management	1	1		5					1	1	1	1				11
1st line supervision	2	2	1	4	3	1	1	3	6		2	4		2		32
Professional workers			1	3	2		1	2	5	3	1			5		23
Technicians			1	2	1		1	2	2		2			2	1	14
Retail trade, buyers, etc.												18				18
Office workers	5	3	1	8	5		5	9	24	9	6	18	6	5	1	105
Sales workers					1			2	2			29		5		39
Craftsmen	2	3		21		4		1	4		1	6				42
Operatives	7	3		27	3	2	2	8	6		9	11			1	79
Service workers									2			5		9	1	17
Laborers	12				1				1							14
	29	12	4	70	17	8	10	28	54	13	22	93	6	29	5	400

Table 4. Correlation matrix for the 30 selected items

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1		.46	.68	.40	.31	.37	.54	.35	.35	.34	.32	.44	.42	.43	.39
2			.29	.27	.40	.34	.58	.41	.42	.52	.58	.56	.56	.62	.44
3				.21	.15	.30	.32	.22	.23	.28	.24	.34	.36	.27	.32
4					.43	.15	.29	.16	.12	.22	.23	.15	.27	.33	.14
5						.13	.27	.11	.07	.23	.28	.21	.31	.63	.23
6							.46	.57	.57	.33	.31	.39	.37	.25	.29
7								.60	.52	.46	.49	.57	.52	.48	.46
8									.74	.36	.40	.46	.44	.30	.32
9										.37	.39	.42	.40	.29	.31
10											.77	.65	.75	.49	.53
11												.66	.77	.55	.54
12													.69	.41	.57
13														.50	.73
14															.39
15															
16															
17															
18															
19															
20															
21															
22															
23															
24															
25															
26															
27															
28															
29															
30															
Mean	66.9	72.7	67.1	38.4	74.8	78.8	57.8	77.4	87.5	60.0	63.0	61.8	66.8	69.1	73.4
S.D.	20.5	19.1	17.7	21.4	18.0	13.9	20.2	15.8	10.9	19.7	20.1	20.4	19.7	20.7	16.3

and the means and standard deviations for each item.

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
.40	.29	.28	.26	.30	.36	.53	.30	.53	.37	.44	.53	.17	.44	.43
.52	.40	.39	.48	.56	.35	.59	.57	.37	.57	.69	.75	.45	.61	.72
.33	.26	.31	.21	.23	.29	.35	.15	.36	.30	.29	.32	.11	.31	.24
.21	.18	.13	.19	.14	.25	.43	.29	.78	.26	.28	.41	.21	.35	.31
.25	.25	.39	.43	.47	.27	.44	.29	.49	.46	.51	.44	.38	.46	.29
.35	.34	.26	.22	.26	.29	.38	.28	.20	.35	.30	.39	.13	.37	.36
.46	.39	.27	.33	.44	.35	.55	.39	.41	.42	.48	.63	.26	.52	.53
.35	.37	.23	.22	.27	.28	.40	.34	.21	.36	.39	.42	.23	.43	.46
.34	.32	.24	.22	.29	.34	.35	.32	.15	.38	.38	.42	.21	.39	.45
.54	.59	.40	.44	.44	.33	.47	.32	.29	.56	.52	.48	.40	.57	.46
.56	.63	.42	.45	.50	.38	.48	.42	.29	.54	.60	.52	.47	.56	.53
.68	.51	.30	.30	.46	.32	.55	.32	.29	.42	.48	.58	.26	.50	.51
.67	.72	.44	.43	.45	.41	.51	.40	.33	.56	.58	.54	.38	.60	.48
.33	.38	.65	.69	.72	.48	.57	.40	.45	.72	.76	.60	.61	.69	.47
.65	.65	.35	.34	.45	.34	.42	.32	.25	.37	.43	.44	.21	.41	.36
	.68	.30	.32	.38	.30	.51	.38	.32	.37	.48	.54	.24	.46	.49
		.46	.42	.41	.35	.42	.35	.23	.43	.46	.38	.33	.46	.35
			.83	.61	.42	.37	.26	.26	.62	.52	.38	.52	.55	.25
				.67	.45	.42	.30	.31	.64	.57	.45	.60	.65	.33
					.40	.54	.36	.33	.59	.59	.55	.57	.63	.40
						.44	.30	.31	.58	.51	.39	.41	.45	.37
							.51	.51	.56	.61	.69	.41	.62	.56
								.28	.46	.57	.54	.39	.41	.62
									.35	.38	.50	.29	.45	.36
										.77	.56	.60	.66	.50
											.64	.55	.62	.63
												.44	.63	.69
													.59	.41
														.55
84.1	67.0	60.3	63.6	59.1	82.3	65.3	81.9	51.2	72.0	74.0	63.0	59.9	58.4	71.5
14.9	18.0	21.1	20.0	19.7	11.7	15.4	12.3	19.8	17.1	17.5	19.2	17.6	19.3	18.9

Table 5. Orthogonal factor matrix.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1	.60	.17	.41	−.11	−.29	.24
2	.78	.02	.06	.14	.25	.21
3	.44	.16	.23	−.20	−.47	.32
4	.42	−.13	.62	−.25	.07	−.38
5	.52	−.41	.22	−.12	.07	−.04
6	.49	.33	.05	.26	−.25	−.11
7	.69	.27	.16	.13	−.04	.02
8	.56	.41	.03	.42	−.15	−.24
9	.54	.39	.00	.46	−.19	−.18
10	.71	.16	−.26	−.19	.07	−.14
11	.76	.14	−.27	−.14	.17	−.13
12	.70	.36	−.12	−.13	.06	.10
13	.78	.24	−.23	−.27	.03	−.10
14	.78	−.41	−.01	.05	−.02	.05
15	.63	.27	−.23	−.33	−.03	.07
16	.67	.33	−.11	−.28	.09	.07
17	.65	.19	−.32	−.29	−.02	−.16
18	.62	−.42	−.29	−.01	−.36	−.02
19	.67	−.48	−.25	.04	−.20	−.04
20	.71	−.30	−.17	.05	−.04	.11
21	.57	−.12	−.01	.07	−.18	−.04
22	.75	.00	.22	−.01	.07	.07
23	.58	02	.10	.18	.33	.08
24	.54	−.15	.59	−.27	−.05	−.21
25	.77	−.28	−.11	.14	−.05	−.01
26	.81	−.18	−.02	.12	.13	.11
27	.79	.03	.22	.09	.18	.14
28	.59	−.40	−.14	.13	.10	−.09
29	.80	−.16	−.01	.05	−.03	−.07
30	.71	.13	.16	.22	.31	.12

Table 6. Distribution of the sixth factor residuals (N = 435).

−.09	−.08	−.07	−.06	−.05	−.04	−.03	−.02	−.01	00	.01	.02	.03	.04	.05	.06	.07	.08	.09
1	1	5	5	14	17	35	41	73	66	63	48	37	13	8	1	3	4	0

Table 7. Transformation matrix.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
I	.303	.219	.163	.108	.292	.119
II	−.779	.450	−.235	.427	−.110	.050
III	−.325	−.372	.626	.070	.156	.328
IV	.144	−.664	−.293	.670	.304	−.074
V	−.399	.213	.044	−.360	.622	−.511
VI	−.124	−.351	−.663	−.474	.632	.781

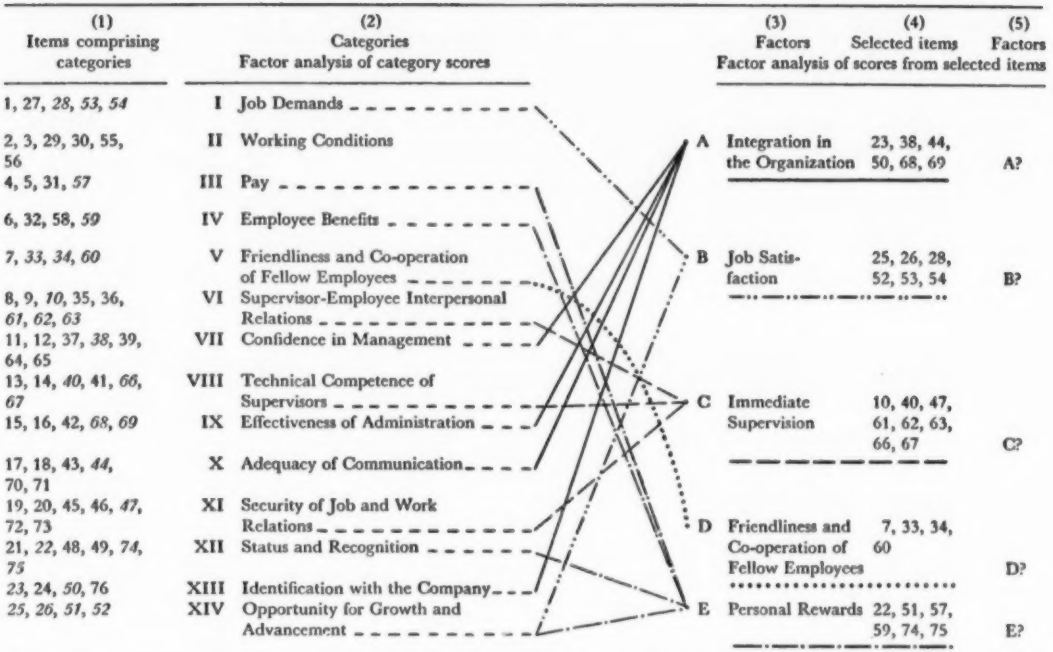
Table 8. Oblique factor matrix.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	−.01	−.02	.17	.08	.16	.56
2	.10	.04	−.01	.00	.57	.14
3	.05	.00	.00	.02	.00	.64
4	.01	.12	.82	.02	−.04	−.07
5	.37	−.04	.38	−.19	.21	.10
6	.03	.05	.02	.51	−.03	.11
7	−.02	.11	.10	.29	.22	.17
8	−.01	.07	.04	.69	.01	−.04
9	.02	.01	−.03	.69	.02	.01
10	.14	.51	.07	.04	.05	−.12
11	.14	.50	.06	.03	.15	−.17
12	−.08	.42	−.07	.06	.21	.12
13	.09	.59	.07	.03	.04	−.04
14	.57	−.06	.17	−.07	.31	.11
15	.01	.53	−.06	−.08	.00	.11
16	−.10	.52	.00	−.05	.16	.09
17	.14	.59	.05	.02	−.08	−.11
18	.75	−.01	.02	.00	−.06	.13
19	.75	−.03	.07	−.03	.07	.04
20	.51	.00	−.01	−.07	.27	.12
21	.36	.00	.11	.14	.06	.11
22	.12	.08	.22	.03	.34	.18
23	.01	.02	.06	.04	.49	−.02
24	.10	.07	.71	−.03	.02	.13
25	.53	−.02	.09	.07	.24	.05
26	.34	.01	.06	−.01	.44	.09
27	.07	.03	.15	.04	.49	.18
28	.53	−.03	.13	−.02	.24	−.13
29	.40	.08	.19	.09	.20	.04
30	−.05	.03	.05	.12	.55	.06

Table 9. Correlations between the primary factors.

	A Organization and Management	B Immediate Supervision	C Material Rewards	D Fellow Employees	E Job Satisfaction	F "Doublet"
A	1.00					
B	.46	1.00				
C	.05	.11	1.00			
D	.27	.45	.11	1.00		
E	.36	.49	.28	.46	1.00	
F	.20	.46	.28	.31	.14	1.00

*Diagram 1.**



*Column 1 shows the items which contribute to the categories in the *Employee Inventory*. Column 2 describes the categories and indicates which categories have loadings on the five factors defined in the past investigation. Column 3 designates these factors. Column 4 shows the items selected to represent the five factors in the present investigation. The selected items are italicized in column 1. Column 5 poses the question whether the present direct analysis will again yield five factors defined by the five respective groups of selected items.

Arnold M. Rose

"Official" vs. "Administrative" Criteria for Classification of Combat Breakdown Cases

Although bureaucratic theory holds that technical-professional demands exert an overriding claim in decision making in large, complex organizations, considerable evidence suggests that other decisional premises compete strongly with such demands. Prominent among such premises is that of organizational necessity, i.e., the demand for decisions that seem necessary for "the good of the organization," even though they may be technically and professionally inapposite. The author defines the latter as administrative criteria, and calls criteria reflecting professional demands official. Research data on the classification of neuropsychiatric casualties during World War II are presented to show that administrative criteria played as significant a role as official criteria in determining the classification of combat breakdown cases.[1]

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[1]Unless otherwise indicated, the data for this article were collected in 1945 while the author was in the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, Mediterranean Theatre, U.S. Army. Only a small portion of the data was analyzed at that time; the present re-analysis has been made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The author is grateful to M. Brewster Smith and Leland C. DeVinney for aid in planning the original study and to the following psychiatrists of the U.S. Fifth Army in World War II who helped collect information from their patients—Calvin Dreyer, Albert Glass, Frederick Hanson, L. L. Holloman, Samuel Kaufman, Joseph Slusky, and Raymond Sobel. In making the data available, the Department of the Army assumes no responsibility for the analyses and interpretations, which are the sole responsibility of the author.

WHEN scientific experts are assigned to administrative agencies, it is commonly assumed that they will operate completely within the canons of the scientific discipline in which they are experts and make diagnoses, prognoses, and recommendations solely on the basis of their scientific knowledge. They are hired as specialists (as distinguished from the general administrator); they are trained as scientists; their traditions are rationalistic; they are given a narrow range of cases to decide upon. Hence the official expectation is that they will restrict themselves to applying scientific criteria to the cases at hand. Our hypothesis is that actually they do not so restrict themselves, any more than do other administrators, but rather take into consideration—consciously or unconsciously—a host of other factors. In addition to the scientific basis of their diagnosis and prognosis, which may not always be completely clear in any individual case, they consider the welfare of the whole agency for which they work, the welfare of the individual case they are evaluating (if it happens to be a human case), the needs and interests of the other functionaries in the agency, and probably their own personal needs and interests. With the exception of self-interest all come to the experts in the form of social pressures, and the self-interest of the expert consists partly in responding to the pressures.

The situation we shall examine is that of the psychiatrist in the combat unit, who is assigned the expert role of deciding whether each neuropsychiatric casualty (hereafter called NP) is capable of being returned to combat after a brief treatment or whether he is to be sent to the rear echelon for further treatment and/or reassignment to a noncombat job. The official reasons given for placing a psychiatrist in each major combat unit are that in wartime the armed services need all the trained and experienced men they can get into combat and that it has been accepted as fact that the chances of an NP casualty being successfully returned to combat are much greater when he is treated briefly near the zone of combat than when he is sent all the way to the rear or to a garrison or civilian setting. The official task of the division psychiatrist, therefore, is to diagnose each NP casualty on medical grounds and to decide whether he can continue to serve directly in combat after three to five days of rest and treatment.

In order to determine whether the psychiatrist is relying on official, medical criteria or using other bases of judgment which we shall collectively call administrative criteria, we shall assume that if medical criteria are being used those returned to combat duty are more like those who never broke down in the first place than are those who are sent to the rear echelon for further treatment and/or reassignment to noncombat jobs. Our research procedure is, first, to ascertain in what respects the NPs differ significantly from those who have not broken down in combat (the normals); second, to ascertain in what respects the NPs returned to combat duty differ significantly from those sent by the psychiatrist to the rear echelon; third, from a comparison of these two lists of characteristics, background traits, and attitudes to ascertain what categories of NPs are being sent to the rear echelon even though their symptoms, characteristics, and backgrounds are more like those of normal soldiers than are those NPs being returned to combat. The first step has been reported in other research articles;[2] hence it is only necessary to present the second and third steps here. The data consist of questionnaires completed by 225 white combat NPs and by 1,754 white combat normals representing a cross section of enlisted men in the same divisions from which the NPs came.

The policy of the American Army with respect to the disposition of neuropsychiatric casualties from combat, established during World War II and continued with minor modification through the Korean War, has been to evacuate them with other casualties from the battlefield to the battalion aid station. If the physician here judges their incapacity to be neuropsychiatric rather than physical, he sends them to the training and rehabilitation center that is part of the division's clearing station. This is generally

[2]See my previous publications based on the same data: (1) "Factors in Mental Breakdown in Combat," in *Mental Health and Mental Disorder*, ed. by Arnold M. Rose (New York, 1955), pp. 291–313; (2) Conscious Reactions to Combat Associated with Neuropsychiatric Breakdown in Combat, *Psychiatry*, 19 (Feb. 1956), 87–95; (3) Neuropsychiatric Breakdown in the Garrison Army and in Combat, *American Sociological Review*, 21 (Aug. 1956), 480–488. Some of the questions were used previously in Research Branch studies, especially in the studies on mental breakdown among soldiers who had never gone overseas. The latter studies were under the general supervision of Samuel A. Stouffer and under the immediate direction of Shirley A. Star. See S. A. Stouffer *et al.*, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II* (Princeton, 1949–50), vol. II, ch. ix, and vol. IV, chs. xiii and xiv.

within sound of shellfire but outside the range of ordinary artillery. After natural sleep or sedation the casualty is tested by an enlisted psychologist and interviewed by an officer psychiatrist. He is then allowed to rest and to take light exercise—under the direction of an infantry officer—for three to five days while under observation. At the end of this period the psychiatrist either sends the casualty back to his company or forwards him to the army's clearing company, where he is reclassified for a service job, sent back to his company, or again forwarded for more systematic psychiatric care, rear-echelon service, or discharge from the army. During World War II an average of 60 per cent (in the European Theater) were returned to combat duty.[3]

The two groups of men answered the questionnaire providing the information for this report under identical circumstances, before they or anyone else knew what their disposition was to be. All of them are white combat infantrymen, from the divisions making up the Fifth Army, who broke down in combat between December 1944 and March 1945. About 10 per cent of the men brought to the clearing station were not given the questionnaire as they were judged to be in too disturbed a condition to answer the questions. About a half-dozen men each were excused because they said they did not want to answer or because they were illiterate. About a dozen other NPs were missed by the survey for such miscellaneous reasons as absence of the regular enlisted psychologist during the time the NP was at the clearing station, the weather being too bad to permit writing (the stations sometimes consisted of tents), and so on. The sample of NPs is significantly biased, therefore, only in that the more serious cases are not included. Among those not included in our sample are probably all the psychotics and others needing continued hospitalization.

The questionnaires providing data for this study included 115 questions, of both the check-list and free-answer variety, carefully pretested to eliminate ambiguous and difficult wording. The questions were selected to reflect all the theories known to the author that attempt to explain why some men break down in combat and others do not. Since NPs were brought in at all hours, and usually

[3]William C. Menninger, *Psychiatry in a Troubled World*, (New York, 1948), pp. 147, 307–308. This source is also valuable as a summary of other studies on the mental problems of the World War II soldier.

were in no condition to take the questionnaire at some previously fixed hour, the enlisted psychologist usually had to administer the questionnaires individually, along with other routine psychological tests. The questionnaire was usually given on the day following the one in which the NPs were brought to the station, and in any case before they knew what their disposition was to be. The enlisted psychologist assured the subjects of their anonymity and told them that their responses would in no way affect their treatment—in fact, would not even be seen by the psychiatrist or any other officer in the immediate command. He explained the purpose of the study and said that the results were intended to help soldiers who had similar problems in the future. He then offered either to let the subject fill out the questionnaire himself or to read him the questions and write down the answers.

Our major comparison will be between 130 NPs returned to combat duty (Group I) and 95 NPs forwarded to the army's clearing company (Group II) by the division psychiatrist after three to five days of rest and light exercise. A few of the latter were later returned to combat duty, and some were sent to rear hospitals for treatment as psychotics, but most were sent to a replacement depot for reassignment to rear-echelon service jobs. In early March 1945 the same questionnaire was given to all white NPs (82 in number) who had broken down in combat and were then at the replacement depot awaiting reassignment, and these men (Group III) will provide a secondary basis of comparison. They were given the questionnaire as a group, and practically all of them wrote their answers without assistance. Both the men forwarded to the army's clearing company and the replacement depot men had been judged by the psychiatrist as not suitable to return to combat. Differences between either of these groups and the men returned to duty will be reported in the following pages only if they were large enough not to have occurred by chance at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Large differences will be distinguished from those merely statistically significant at the arbitrary level of 20 per cent.

In terms of rank a private was significantly more likely to be returned to combat than was a sergeant, although there were no differences between these two ranks in their breakdown rate. This may be partly attributable to the fact that the men returned to

duty were somewhat more likely to have been in combat a short time, whereas sergeants were somewhat more likely to have been in combat a long while.[4] Regular army men were more likely to be sent for reassignment, leaving the draftees and war volunteers to be sent back to combat in greater proportion. This means that married men were more likely to be returned to combat, since draftees included a larger proportion of married men than did regulars during World War II. It also means that men who had been continuously with their outfit—who came overseas with their outfit and who had not been individual replacements—were more likely to be sent to the rear for reassignment.

Those returned to combat duty (Group I) were more likely to be those who reported either having been exposed to harsher conditions of combat during their previous combat experience or having reacted more to the harshness of combat. For example, they were more likely to have been in a situation in which sufficient food could not be sent up to them, to have been unable to get more than two hours of sleep in each twenty-four, to have been knocked out by explosion, or to have found combat harder than they expected it would be before they first went in. On the other hand, the men sent for possible reassignment (Group II) included a slightly larger proportion of recipients of Purple Hearts (given to wounded men) and a larger proportion of men who reported having seen close friends killed or wounded in action and having seen others become NPs.

In regard to psychosomatic symptoms manifested in precombat life, each group of men reported having had more of some but less of others. But those sent back to their outfits (Group I) were more likely to have been "treated by a doctor for nervousness" in their civilian and precombat Army life. They were more likely to say that they preferred to be with others rather than by themselves, to like the others in their outfit more, and to estimate that others liked them. On the other hand, they were less likely to report

[4]There was a tendency for men who had been in combat for a long while to become casualties of some type, and psychiatrists were very well aware of this fact. See John W. Appel and Gilbert W. Beebe, Preventive Psychiatry and Epidemiological Approach, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 131 (Aug. 31, 1946), 1469–1475.

that they had had more dates with girls than did other fellows they knew. The NPs forwarded for reassignment or discharge (Group II) were more likely to report that their parents did not get along well together when they were children and also more likely to say they had certain childhood neuroticisms like stuttering and lack of desire to participate in sports.

Attitudes which the army regards as desirable were more likely to be held by those forwarded for reassignment or discharge than by those sent back to their outfits. The former (Group II) were more likely to look with disfavor on those who go AWOL or who go on sick call to avoid combat, more likely to believe that wounded men should be returned to combat when healed, more opposed to a negotiated peace, less bothered by the fact that some soldiers were never sent overseas, more likely to specify a longer period of time in which a soldier can efficiently remain in combat. On the other hand, these same men forwarded for reassignment were also more likely to say that medical care is not made available to those who need it and more likely to say that army decorations were not distributed fairly.

Dozens of other characteristics were inquired about for which there were no significant differences between those who were returned to combat duty and those forwarded for reassignment. For a few of these characteristics, however, significant differences did appear between those returned to combat duty (Group I) and those already at the replacement depot awaiting reassignment (Group III).[5] The first combat experience of the first group was during a period of more difficult action than was that of the NPs at the replacement depot. The latter, on the other hand, were more likely to report that when they were in combat they felt that "it was just a matter of time" until they would get hit. The replacement depot men were more likely to say that when they were in combat they worried a lot about their chances of becoming a casualty.

Several other significant differences revealed something of the mental orientation of the more serious cases sent to the replace-

[5]These differences also appear between the two groups we considered in previous paragraphs, and in the expected direction. They were not reported in the earlier paragraphs because they were not statistically significant.

ment depot as compared to that of those sent back to their combat outfits. The replacement depot men (Group III) were much more likely to report themselves as being in low spirits and as being "blue and discouraged." More of them were inclined to think that conditions would be worse for them after the war than they were before the war. The replacement depot men could be said to be more sensitive in another respect also. They were more likely to say that they were bothered when ordered to do something that they did not see a good reason for doing. This is paralleled by a larger number of the replacement depot men, as compared to the men sent back to combat, reporting that they had played hooky from school when they were boys and that people seemed to think they had hot tempers. They were also more likely to claim that they did not deserve it when, as children, their parents or other adults punished them. A much larger proportion of the replacement depot men either came from broken homes or had parents who did not get along together.

Among the many measures of personality, background, and attitudes for which no differences appeared between the three groups of men in our survey, some are important for understanding the characteristics of neuropsychiatric breakdown in combat. In the first place, there are very few differences in "gripes"—in complaints about the army and its treatment of them. This is important because "griping" seems to be an outlet for normal men in reacting to the dangers and frustrations of combat life.[6] Similarly there are no differences between the three groups of NPs in their use of certain thoughts[7] to keep them going when combat became especially difficult. This is important also because a larger proportion of normal men have these resources to aid mental stability in the face of adversity. We have already noted that there are no large or consistent differences between the three groups in precombat neurotic symptoms, whereas normals tend to have had markedly fewer such symptoms. These facts point to a major conclusion, which must be tentative because our study cannot be

[6]For evidence, see Rose, Conscious Reactions to Combat Associated with Neuropsychiatric Breakdown.

[7]Such as prayer, hating the enemy, thinking of what the war was all about, that they shouldn't let their buddies down, and that they had to finish the job to get home.

regarded as methodologically perfect: the respects in which NPs are different from normal men of comparable combat experience are not the same as those which differentiate NPs who are sent back to combat from those forwarded for reassignment or discharge.

The implications of this finding—if it should be proved to be reliable—are not completely clear. One possibility is that the light treatment, rest, and return to combat duty have a beneficial effect regardless of who is sent back. William C. Menninger, head of the army's psychiatric service during World War II, reports:

> With intensive, efficient treatment within 15 to 20 miles of the front line, roughly 60 per cent of the psychiatric combat casualties were sent back to duty. There could be no accurate evaluation of this treatment because of the difficulty in checking on relapses. Various division psychiatrists attempted to keep track of the number of repeaters. Thus in the Eightieth Division it was recorded as 4 per cent; in the Second Armored it was 10 per cent; in the Thirtieth Division it was 7 per cent. The psychiatrist of the Seventh Army estimated combat casualty repeaters at 15 per cent who served an average of 40 days before the second breakdown. They were not returned to combat duty for a third time.

A few follow-up studies are available. Major D. I. Weintraub, the psychiatrist of the Twenty-ninth Division, checked the records of nearly 1,000 patients who had been returned to duty from one to ten weeks previous to his study. Of these, few more than half had continued at combat duty:

On combat duty	52%
On noncombat duty	16%
In hospital, with wounds or illness	29%
Killed or missing in action	3%

All these figures, though varying rather widely, would strongly support belief in the validity of returning all possible men to combat duty. We should, however, have no illusions about those casualties who were returned to combat. Many of them were not well when sent back; most of them needed more treatment than they received. Nevertheless, the function of the army medical officer was to return the soldier to duty if his personality was sufficiently stabilized to enable him to serve further.[8]

[8]Menninger, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–148, 149.

It also seems likely that administrative reasons rather than the motive of returning the "soldier to duty if his personality was sufficiently stabilized to enable him to serve further" prompted some psychiatrists to send men for reassignment rather than return them to combat duty: for example, sergeants who broke down were a danger to their outfits and should be removed even if their prognoses were not bad; soldiers who were brought to the psychiatrist a second time would probably be sent for reassignment even if the psychiatrist could not see that they were in any worse shape than those who had broken once and who were being returned to combat. Since the facts are that NPs in combat a long while and NPs who had previously been physically wounded were more likely to be sent for reassignment, it is possible that the psychiatrist considered the longevity and wounding a basis for reassignment rather than evaluating solely the mental state of the soldier.[9] Menninger reports that line officers occasionally put pressure on psychiatrists to get men they considered unsuitable for their outfits out of them by having the psychiatrists reassign them on medical grounds. If "administrative" reasons as well as official medical ones determine the assignment of an NP soldier from the training and rehabilitation center, there is little reason to describe our two categories of NPs as "more serious" and "less serious." Our analysis seems to suggest that administrative reasons played as significant a role as the official reason in the psychiatrists' classification of these combat breakdown cases. The psychiatrists were operating for the "good of the organization" (and of themselves as members of the organization) in a bureaucratic fashion, as well as being experts advising on a factual scientific question.

[9]It should be recalled, as indicated early in this paper, that this study does not include psychotics—who are probably without exception forwarded to rear-echelon hospitals.

Egon G. Guba

Morale and Satisfaction: A Study in Past-Future Time Perspective

Although morale and satisfaction are central to the study of personnel administration, acceptable definitions and adequate conceptual frameworks have not yet emerged to guide research on these two elements. The author attempts to provide operational definitions of satisfaction and morale and a framework for treating them. A central assumption is that time is a critical variable, i.e., that past experiences of a satisfactory character predispose the individual toward satisfactory experiences in a new situation, thus increasing the probability of high morale. That is, high satisfaction ordinarily must precede high morale in point of time. A second assumption is that energy is a limiting and limited factor and that the amount an individual is prepared and able to expend is a function of the congruence between organizational demands and individual needs. An experimental study is designed to test the assumed positive relationship between satisfaction and morale in a given situation. Within the limitations of method the experiment seems to validate the hypothesis that there is a critical time and energy factor in morale and satisfaction.[1]

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[1]The study reported in this paper was a staff research project of the Midwest Administration Center, the University of Chicago, for which the author served as research consultant. Collaborating in various phases of the study were Staff Associates John Andrews, John Bahner, Willard Congreve, Donald McCarty, Roderick McPhee, Robert Phelps, Richard Prince, and John Warren. The study was carried out under the general direction of Francis S. Chase, who also made the original suggestions leading to the development of the conceptual structure. Robert Moser served as

TWO concepts which have proved to be relatively indispensable both to the practitioner and to the student of staff relations are those of morale and satisfaction. Both have received wide treatment in the literature, particularly the literature of business and industry. Despite this close attention, however, no generally acceptable definition of either morale or satisfaction has emerged, nor has a conceptual framework been evolved which adequately subsumes these two ideas.[2] It is the purpose of this paper to suggest one such framework and to provide some preliminary evidence for its validity.

A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MORALE AND SATISFACTION

Like all conceptual definitions, definitions of morale and satisfaction are essentially arbitrary and depend upon the purpose of the definer. Many definitions suitable to a variety of purposes have been made of both these terms; the interested reader may find a discussion of these in a wide variety of works.[3] For present purposes definitions were sought which would meet the following criteria: (1) the definitions should have operational validity in the sense of leading to instrumentation useful in the prediction and explanation of staff behavior, and (2) the definitions should partake of a common conceptual framework or share a common dynamic. The following formulations based on the notion of energy exchange appear to satisfy these requirements:

1. *Satisfaction.* Satisfaction is usually conceived as a state of personal euphoria-dysphoria whose level depends upon the quality of the interaction between the individual and his environment. Thus Morse indicates that "satisfaction depends basically upon what an individual wants from the world, and what he gets. The least satisfied person is the one who wants a great deal and gets very little. The most satisfied is the one who wants a great deal

administrator. The research profited during its early stages from the collaboration of Charles Bidwell, formerly of the Department of Education, the University of Chicago, now serving with the army.

[2]Cf. Mason Haire, "Industrial Social Psychology," ch. xxix of Gardner Lindzey, ed., *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

[3]See, for example, Morris S. Viteles, *Motivation and Morale in Industry* (New York, 1953); Nancy C. Morse, *Satisfactions in the White Collar Job* (Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1953); Haire, *op. cit.*

and gets it. Other combinations of 'wants' and 'gets' fall in between the two poles."[4] Morse characterizes satisfaction as being dependent upon the amount of "environmental return." In a similar vein Getzels and Guba indicate that "satisfaction is a function of the degree of congruence between institutional expectations and individual need-dispositions."[5] Under conditions of perfect congruence behavior on the part of the role incumbent simultaneously meets situational expectations and personal needs and presumably ensures maximal satisfaction. Getzels and Guba go on to point out that when institutional expectations and individual needs are congruent, the behavior which the subject produces seems easy and natural to him and is forthcoming with a minimum of effort or strain, i.e., the behavior is highly conservative of the subject's energies. Conversely, when institutional expectations and individual needs are not congruent, a considerable expenditure of psychic energy is required to produce behavior which is effective from the organizational point of view. This additional expenditure of energy is, of course, unsatisfying to the subject. Thus we may define satisfaction as a state or quality of contentment which arises when a situation is so structured as to permit a subject to discharge both organizational requirements and individual needs by simultaneous acts and hence with minimum expenditures of energy.

2. *Morale.* Definitions of morale found in the literature usually contain two elements. There is first what might be termed a communality of goals; for example, Child in a summary of various definitions of morale indicates that sometimes "morale refers to the condition of a group where there are clear and fixed group goals (purposes) that are felt to be important and integrated with individual goals. . . ."[6] The second common element is that of "belongingness" or "togetherness"; for example, Blankenship asserts that "as the term morale is ordinarily used . . . , it refers to a feeling of 'togetherness.' There is a sense of identification with and interest in the elements of one's job, working conditions, fellow workers, supervisors, employers, and the company."[7]

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

[5] J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, Social Behavior and the Administrative Process, *School Review*, 65 (Winter 1957), 423–441.

[6] I. L. Child, Morale: A Bibliographical Review, *Psychol. Bull.*, 38 (1951), 393–420.

[7] A. B. Blankenship, "Methods of Measuring Industrial Morale," in G. W. Hartmann and T. Newcomb, eds., *Industrial Conflict* (New York, 1939), pp. 299–312.

We shall here adopt the definition, first suggested by Chase,[8] that morale is a predisposition on the part of persons engaged in an enterprise to put forth extra effort in the achievement of group goals or objectives. This definition by implication contains the two elements of communality of goals and feelings of togetherness indicated above. Thus the use of the term "group goals" indicates general acceptance of and concurrence in the objectives of the enterprise by the staff and a willingness to carry these out in some systematic way. The present definition has the advantage, however, of making explicit an element of morale which has often been hinted at but never before unambiguously included in a formal definition of morale, *extra* effort. Thus Viteles includes as an element in his definition of morale a "willingness to strive for the goals of a particular group,"[9] while Maier uses the term zest in this connection, which he says implies "that individuals stimulate each other to *greater* effort."[10] Finlay, Sartain, and Tate indicate that the best illustration of high morale is heroism in war, "when a man will give up his life so that his buddies may have a chance or may achieve an objective."[11]

3. *Synthesis.* The value of including the element of extra effort in the definition of morale is evident when it is considered that the production of any effort, and particularly extra effort, requires energy. It seems safe to assume that the quantity of energy available to a single individual is limited and must be rationed to serve all of the functions which that individual performs. Priority in the utilization of energy must obviously be assigned to the performance of essential functions. But if these essential functions consume too much energy, it follows that there must be a serious curtailment of other functions which, while perhaps less vital, are nevertheless important to the enterprise. Under these circumstances the essential objectives of the enterprise may be reached, but, without zest, without *esprit,* without a willingness to "go the extra mile"—in short, without good morale.

[8]Cf. American Association of School Administrators, *Staff Relations in School Administration,* AASA Thirty-third Yearbook (Washington, D.C., 1955), ch. i.

[9]*Op. cit.,* p. 12. Italics mine.

[10]Norman F. Maier, Psychology in Industry (New York, 1955), p. 111f. Italics mine.

[11]W. W. Finlay, A. Q. Sartain, and W. M. Tate, *Human Behavior in Industry* (New York, 1954), p. 39f.

It is of interest then to inquire into circumstances which may result in an overcommitment of energy to essential or mandatory functions. Clearly one such circumstance is the existence of low levels of satisfaction among personnel. As we have seen, satisfaction depends basically upon the quality of the interaction between an individual and his environment. In organizational terms we may say that satisfaction depends upon the congruence between the essential demands made upon personnel and their unique need or personality structures. If people are required to act in ways which, although conforming to organizational objectives, nevertheless are antagonistic to their personal needs, a greater expenditure of energy is required than would be the case if these situational demands and individual needs were in harmony. The basic disharmony between situational expectations and individual needs poses a braking force, as it were, which must be overcome before the required acts can be produced. Energy is of course consumed in this process.

If these formulations are valid, it would appear that low satisfaction and high morale are incompatible with one another. The production of extra effort as implied by high morale requires the expenditure of extra energy, but such energy cannot be available if it has already been expended in the production of unsatisfying acts. Thus high satisfaction must precede high morale in time if the extra energy required for high morale is to be available. Conversely, low satisfaction cannot be productive of high morale since unsatisfying acts are overly consumptive of the necessary energy. This is not to say that situations may not be found in which, at a given time, high morale accompanies low satisfaction, or vice versa; what is suggested is that, *over time,* situations will stabilize into low satisfaction–low morale or high satisfaction–high morale conditions.

Satisfaction and morale may be related to one another in these terms as a function of time. To state the case in more qualitative terms, if an individual has found past experiences satisfying, he is likely to anticipate satisfaction in the future, and we say that he has high morale. Similarly, if his past experiences have been unsatisfying, he is likely to be unwilling or to be unable to expend effort in the production of other acts that will be equally unsatisfying to

him, and we say that he has low morale. Thus it is reasonable to postulate a high positive relationship between measures of satisfaction and morale in any stable situation, and it is this hypothesis that the present study proposed to test. A twofold experimental task was accordingly involved: (1) the development of measures of morale and satisfaction applicable to the teaching situation in which the study was conducted, and (2) the study of the relationships between the scores derived from these two measures.

METHOD

The sample. The basic sample for the data reported here consisted of 168 teachers from eleven schools located in the suburban Chicago area. Six of these schools with a total of 103 teachers had previously been identified by their county superintendents as low-morale schools, while the remaining five with 65 teachers had been rated by their county superintendents as high-morale schools.[12] All of the high-morale schools were elementary schools, while the six low-morale schools were evenly divided between elementary and secondary schools.

The low-morale group consisted of 39.8 per cent males and 60.2 per cent females, and the high-morale group consisted of 16.9 per cent males and 83.1 per cent females. The modal educational level for both groups was the bachelor's degree. The mean age was 38.61 years for the high-morale group and 36.36 years for the low-morale group. Mean length of teaching experience was 8.63 years for the low-morale group and 9.63 years for the high-morale group, and mean length of experience in the present system was 4.99 years for the low-morale group and 5.58 years for the high-morale group.

In addition to this basic sample, two other samples were used. The first or pilot sample, consisting of 78 teachers drawn from two high-morale and two low-morale schools as determined by the ratings of county superintendents, served as subjects for a pretest of the research instruments. The other or interview sample con-

[12]The superintendents of ten Chicago-area counties were invited to nominate the five highest- and five lowest-morale schools in their counties. Replies were received from seven superintendents, and fifty-nine schools (twenty-nine low morale and thirty high morale) were nominated. This list was used as a basic pool from which selections for interviews, pilot study, and final study were made. The superintendents were permitted to use whatever definition of morale they wished when making these nominations.

sisted of about 40 teachers from eleven schools, six of which had been designated as high-morale schools and five as low-morale schools by their county superintendents. This group was used in the development of the morale instrument. Twenty-six different schools were represented in the three samples.

Instrumentation. Two major instruments, the CES Battery and the Teacher Behavior Rating Scale (TBRS) were used. The CES Battery, developed in connection with a previous study conducted under the auspices of the Midwest Administration Center, the University of Chicago,[13] is a questionnaire eliciting self-ratings from teachers concerning their own level of satisfaction *(S)*, their level of effectiveness *(E)*, and their degree of confidence in the leadership of the principal *(C)*. Two kinds of scores are employed for each rating: an average score based on the teacher's responses to a series of specific statements *(A*-type items) and a score based upon a single over-all evaluation made by the teacher *(B*-type items). For example, in rating satisfaction, the teacher indicated on a six-point scale her relative satisfaction with such specific areas as relationships with parents, colleagues, superiors, and pupils; school activities outside the classroom; the teacher's role in identifying, developing, or defining school goals; the availability of materials and aids; motivation displayed by students; and the like. In addition, the teacher indicated on another six-point scale her over-all satisfaction by checking a response such as, "It is difficult to imagine a more satisfactory teaching situation," or "I consider this among the poorer teaching situations," etc. Six criteria were thus available:

CA—ratings of confidence in the principal's leadership determined from an average of ten specific items.

CB—ratings of confidence in the principal's leadership determined from a single global item.

EA—self-ratings of effectiveness based upon an average of ten specific items.

EB—self-ratings of effectiveness based upon a single global item.

SA—self-ratings of satisfaction based upon an average of ten specific items.

SB—self-ratings of satisfaction based upon a single global item.

The criterion variables *SA* and *SB* are, of course, most germane

[13]Cf. E. G. Guba and C. E. Bidwell, *Administrative Relationships* (Chicago, 1957).

to the present report; data will, however, be presented for the other variables as well.

The Teacher Behavior Rating Scale was constructed by the research group to measure levels of school morale. To develop some insights into the general climate of good- and poor-morale schools, and also in order to collect materials which might be useful in the construction of this instrument, interviews were taken with approximately forty teachers in eleven schools previously classified as high- or low-morale schools by their county superintendents. The interviews were designed to elicit information regarding the expenditure of staff effort and energy in four areas: interpersonal relations in the school, teaching, professional activities, and personal activities. In addition, several general questions on school atmosphere were included. The interviews were primarily open-ended to permit the respondents as wide a range of comment as possible. Interview protocols were written as soon as possible after each interview, and special attention was given to recording specific examples of behaviors which seemed to contribute to the level of morale of the schools.

Protocols obtained from high- and low-morale schools were then compared in an attempt to isolate behaviors typical of one but not of the other type of school. Such behaviors were then cast into the form of test items for inclusion in the trial form of the TBRS. This trial form, consisting of 105 items, and with four different sets of instructions, was administered to a sample of 78 teachers drawn from two high- and two low-morale schools. Item analyses based on the data from this sample resulted in a reduction in the number of items to 63, and provided the information necessary for a decision as to the final form of the instructions.

In the form of the instrument actually used, the subject was asked to respond to each item in terms of the extent to which most of the teachers in his school utilized the behavior described in that item in their own teaching practice. The instructions read in part,

> It will be helpful to you in formulating your response to preface each item with the phrase, "To what extent do most of the teachers in my school..." So for example, an item which reads, "Depend on personal experience rather than on textbook rules in handling discipline problems" should be rephrased by you to read, "To what extent do most

of the teachers in my school depend on personal experience rather than on textbook rules in handling discipline problems?"

Responses were made on a five-point scale whose values ranged from "To a great extent" to "Never."

Although the final form of the instrument had 63 items, the scores on which the present report is based were derived from 25 items only. These items were selected as the most discriminating items as demonstrated by a second item analysis. Several example items follow:

8. Volunteer to perform extra duties only when these are compensated by extra pay. (Scored negatively)
25. Spend summers in some broadening educational activity such as participating in workshops, educational travel, summer school, and the like.
33. Work cooperatively with other teachers, the principal, or appropriate supervisors in the selection of textbooks.
47. Work with fellow teachers to develop official policies and procedures covering situations not specified in current school regulations.

In addition to these two major instruments, two other devices were used. A Personal Information Questionnaire was administered which elicited such information as age, sex, teaching experience, educational level, and the like. Included also were certain attitudinal questions (e.g., "Do you think that certain groups of teachers have a more 'personal' influence with the principal and other administrative officers than do other groups?"). These items were intended to assist in the validation of the TBRS on the assumption that higher-morale groups would tend to answer such attitudinal questions more favorably than would lower-morale groups. The second device, the I-O Scale, was administered to permit a test of the hypothesis that the TBRS invited conformist responses because of the nature of its items. Certain data resulting from the pilot study pointed to the possibility that respondents in low-morale situations were making positive responses to the test items simply for the sake of conformity. The I-O Scale, an instrument developed for an earlier Air Force study, is a measure of such tendencies.[14]

[14]E. G. Guba and J. W. Getzels, The Construction of an Other-Directedness Instrument, with Some Preliminary Data on Validity, *Amer. Psychol.*, 9 (1954), 385–386.

The instruments were administered to all teaching personnel of eleven schools in the Chicago area, five of which had been nominated as high-morale schools and six as low-morale schools by their county superintendents. All testing was done in groups during a single two-hour block of time, which in some cases came after school and in others during free time set aside by the school administration. Respondents were guaranteed anonymity and were encouraged to be as candid as possible.

THE FINDINGS

Validity of the morale instrument. Several bases exist upon which the TBRS may be validated. First, as has been indicated, the test items were based upon interview protocols taken from known high- and low-morale schools, and only those items which seemed to show some differentiation between these two classes were retained. Further refinement was achieved through item analysis with pilot data. Two additional steps were taken with the final instrument, however. A second item analysis was performed using known high- and low-morale schools as the criterion, and final scores were based only on the 25 most discriminating items, as shown by this test. The average item score was 3.577 for teachers from known high-morale schools and 3.188 for teachers from known low-morale schools. It will be recalled that the possible range of average item score was from 1 to 5. This difference, while small, is nevertheless highly significant because of the low-variability pattern in the responses ($t = 5.48$, d.f.$= 166$, $p \ll .001$). There is thus no statistical doubt that the instrument will discriminate high- and low-morale schools.

A further opportunity to test the validity of the TBRS was afforded through the inclusion of attitudinal items in the Personal Information Questionnaire. For this purpose scores achieved on the TBRS were rank-ordered and the distribution divided into quartiles. Responses made by subjects who achieved scores in the upper quartile (regardless of whether such persons came from high- or low-morale schools) were then contrasted with responses from subjects scoring in the bottom quartile. Selected items from the questionnaire, and the responses made by these two quartiles, are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Responses made by subjects scoring in the upper and lower quartiles of the TBRS to selected attitudinal items drawn from the personal information questionnaire.

Item	Upper Q.		Lower Q.	
	N	%	N	%
Voluntary membership in				
Local education association	25	61.0	24	55.8
State education association	30	73.2	25	58.1
National Education Association	24	58.5	17	39.5
Other professional associations	14	34.1	12	27.9
Do you feel you are now teaching the subject or subjects which you are most competent to teach? Answering "Yes"	39	95.1	37	86.0
Do you think that certain groups of teachers in your school have a more "personal" influence with the principal or other administrative officers than do other groups? Answering "Yes"	6	14.6	25	58.1
Do you feel that your relationships with the principal and other administrative officers of the school are as adequate and satisfying as they might be? Answering "Yes"	38	92.7	25	58.1
If you were given your choice of remaining at your present school next year or transferring to another school, which would you be most likely to do? Answering "Transfer"	2	4.9	11	25.6
How would you rate the morale of your school? Answering "Very High" or "High"	36	87.8	15	34.9

As may be seen, marked differences exist between the upper- and lower-quartile groups in their pattern of responses to these items. The upper-quartile group shows a consistently higher proportion of membership in various professional organizations, a higher proportion who feel competent in regard to their teaching assign-

ments, a higher proportion who feel that their relationships to the administration are good, and a higher proportion who would rate their schools as having high morale. Conversely, the low-quartile group shows a higher proportion who feel that the administration is unduly influenced by certain groups within the school and a higher proportion who would transfer to another school if given the opportunity. The data of Table 1 thus tend to corroborate other evidence in establishing the validity of the TBRS.

The relationship of the TBRS to the CES Battery and the I-O Scale. In order to test the degree of relationship between the morale score derived from the TBRS, the various scales of the CES Battery, and the I-O Scale, mean scores achieved by the upper- and lower-quartile groups of the TBRS distribution on the seven scales derived from these two instruments were compared by means of the *t* test for significance of the difference between means. The findings are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Significance of the differences in mean scores achieved by the upper and lower TBRS quartiles on the CES Battery and the I-O Scale.

Variable	Means*		df	t	p
	Upper Q.	Lower Q.			
SA—Specific satisfaction	1.988	2.612	82	5.33	.001
SB—Global satisfaction	1.756	2.780	80	4.88	.001
EA—Specific effectiveness	2.005	2.317	78	2.84	.01
EB—Global effectiveness	2.439	2.465	82	0.15	NS
CA—Specific confidence	1.145	2.345	80	6.63	.001
CB—Global confidence	1.275	2.357	80	5.88	.001
I-O Scale conformity	4.475	4.332	82	1.05	NS

*CES Battery scales are inverted so that a low mean indicates high possession of the criterion and vice versa.

Considering first the I-O Scale, it is clear that the upper and lower TBRS quartiles do not differ significantly in their tendency to agree with items for the sake of conformity. It follows that the achievement of high scores on the TBRS must be accounted for

in some other way than to assume that these respondents were simply agreeable people who were willing to go along with any reasonable statement. Apparently some other dynamic is at work.

With the CES Battery, significant differences between the mean scores achieved by the two quartile groups occur on five of the six scales. Least significant differences occur with respect to self-ratings of effectiveness. A difference significant at the 1 per cent level occurs with respect to effectiveness ratings on a series of specific areas, but no significant difference is found with respect to the global rating. Largest differences are found on ratings of confidence in the leadership of the principal. Both specific and global items show response variations significant well beyond the 0.1 per cent level. The hypothesis with respect to satisfaction is also verified beyond the .001 level for both specific and global items. In all cases differences are in favor of the high-morale group as measured by the TBRS. Thus the subjects scoring in the upper quartile appear to have more confidence in the principal, to feel more effective at least with regard to specific areas, and to feel more satisfied than do the subjects scoring in the lower quartile.

DISCUSSION

The study began with the premise that satisfaction and morale may be related along a time dimension. This premise was based upon considerations of available energy. Actions which occur in conformity with external pressures but without meeting internal needs are energy-consuming without being satisfying; states of low satisfaction are states of high energy consumption. At the same time high morale implies a willingness to engage in activities over and above normal expectations; these obviously require additional energy. It follows that states of low satisfaction and high morale are incompatible, for the first saps the energy required by the second. Thus it is apparent that the existence of high morale depends upon a history of high satisfaction; satisfaction, that is to say, is a necessary precursor of morale. From these premises it is clear that a high positive relationship should exist between measures of morale and satisfaction in stable situations. It was this latter hypothesis that the present study sought to test.

Within the limits imposed by the method of the study the

hypothesis appears to be verified. Relationships between an empirical measure of morale and self-ratings of satisfaction derived from the teacher sample of the study are in the direction predicted by the hypothesis and statistically significant well beyond the bounds of chance. The data indicate that high-satisfaction subjects respond in ways typical of high morale, whereas low-satisfaction subjects respond in ways typical of low morale. This is true regardless of whether the satisfaction ratings are made relative to a series of specific areas or to a single global criterion.

Although this verification does not of course constitute a sufficient demonstration of the validity of the central theoretical postulate, viz., a time relationship between morale and satisfaction, it does provide some evidence in this direction. To this extent the theory provides a useful way of relating these two valuable concepts. There is some reason for believing that continued periods of satisfaction may well be basic to the development of high morale, although it is clear that many other factors are probably also operative. It is probable that without such periods of satisfaction high morale could not develop.

If these premises are valid, the development of morale in a previously low-morale situation depends to some extent on the administrator's ability to bring organizational expectations and individual needs into congruence, that is, to structure the situation in ways that are at least potentially satisfying for the individual. Time must be allotted for satisfactions to occur and for resources of energy to be developed. It is likely that such preparatory steps must be taken before high morale can follow in due course.

The findings relative to confidence ratings are also interesting. Apparently, low-morale teachers, as measured by the TBRS, tend to have less confidence in the leadership of the principal than do high-morale teachers. Drawing again upon the central theoretical concepts proposed in the present paper, we may presume that the low-morale teacher has been subjected to a series of unsatisfying experiences. He has found little closure between his felt needs and the expectations posed for him in his situation. He would of course usually identify the structure of that situation as stemming from his superior and accordingly tends to have little confidence

in the leadership of that superior. The barrier which this imposes in the way of good working relationships, increased satisfaction, and improved morale is readily apparent. If confidence in leadership has been lost, the task of leading is of course enormously complicated.

Experiences in low-morale situations seem not to be related to self-perceptions of effectiveness to the same degree as to satisfaction or confidence. Subjects apparently feel that low-morale situations prevent them from being as effective as they might be with regard to specific elements in those situations, but have little relationship to their general effectiveness. This seems to indicate that general effectiveness is thought of as a personal characteristic or trait that is independent of the character of the situation in which the subject finds himself. Thus the low-morale subject argues that of course his present situation hinders him from being as effective in certain particulars as he might otherwise be but that this fact does not reflect upon his innate competence, which would surely come to the fore were the situation changed or improved.

Finally, it may be noted that from a theoretical point of view the formulations proposed have value in that they distinguish two phenomena which have been frequently confused for want of an adequate frame of reference. At the extreme, morale has been defined simply as a state of satisfaction. The postulated time relationship and energy balance between these two manifestations clearly indicate their separate character, however, and at the same time give rise to speculation about the exact nature of the relationship.

William C. Mitchell

Occupational Role Strains: The American Elective Public Official

A suggestive facet of organizational behavior concerns the type of role strains engendered by given occupations or occupational settings. A neglected area of study in this context is the practice of politics as a vocation. The author uses role analysis to develop a conceptual scheme for analyzing role strains among elected political officials. Seven general sources of strain are suggested, and typical reactions of politicians to them are analyzed. The conflicts that often exist between and among the politician's several roles are considered, and the conditions under which conflict is most likely to occur are outlined. Finally, five research hypotheses are set down, and some practical advantages of further research in this framework are suggested.

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AN important subject for behavioral research is the interplay between organizational structure and personality, between the peculiar conditions or demands of given occupations and the kinds of accommodations that individuals make to them. This analysis is concerned with the strains and conflicts associated with elected political office in the United States. Unfortunately Weber's classic essay on politics as a vocation has not been widely read, nor is it

influential among American political scientists.[1] Politics is widely and intensively studied, but the practice of politics as an occupation has received little more than anecdotal treatment by journalists.[2] In this study role theory and role analysis are used to explore certain facets of the elective public official's occupational role. More precisely the paper is concerned with the development of a "middle-range" conceptual scheme for the analysis of the strains engendered by elective public office.

ROLE STRAINS

Briefly, we can define strain as the resultant of attempts to meet expectations that cannot be fully met either by a person or a social system. Neither social systems nor persons can ever be free of the problems of adjustment to new and difficult situations. Strain in some form will therefore accompany the process of adjustment.

The strains to which a person is subject are not randomized in the social system. Rather these strains are patterned along the structure of the roles or norms that make up the system. All incumbents of a particular role will therefore be subject to the same role strains, even though they may respond quite differently to them. If we know the role or norm structure of a given social system we ought to be able to predict where and how role strains will occur.

Whether a particular occupational strain is consciously felt by a given individual is problematical. Some politicians may recognize the existence of a strain for a colleague but not be personally bothered by that same strain. Certain personality types may demonstrate an immunity to strains that cause great anxiety among others. But even in the case of the person who does not recognize or admit to being disturbed by some strain, we have to recognize the possibility that his failure to do so is itself a response to the strain. Self-awareness of a role strain is not a criterion of its existence. If it were, psychoanalysis would have little to do.

The role strains of politics are not simply acquiesced in by the politician any more than is the case with other persons in the social

[1] A translation of Weber's "Politik als Beruf" can be found in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trs., *From Max Weber* (London, 1948).

[2] The best but by no means the only writings of this type are those of Frank Kent, *Political Behavior* (New York, 1928), and J. H. Wallis, *The Politician* (New York, 1935).

structure. A variety of responses is possible, including passive acceptance and deviance; but typically the politician attempts to effectuate some control over the situation, even if only a partial form. Efforts, of course, are also made to reform the situation so that the strain can be eliminated, but for the most part politicians attempt to gain only a partial control as the more realistic course of action. Periodically rather full-scale transformations of the political situations are completed; one such transformation was the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which made some significant changes in the situation of congressmen and senators.

I shall consider seven general sources of strain for the elected public official. The categories used are by no means exhaustive, but they are primary in the sense that any other role strains are products of those selected for discussion. In the order in which they will be analyzed they are (1) insecurity of tenure; (2) conflict among public roles; (3) conflict of private and public roles; (4) ambiguities in political situations; (5) diffused responsibility and limited control of situations; (6) time and pressure of demands; (7) and status insecurity. Finally, it should be clear that I am writing not as a psychologist, but as a political sociologist. No attempt will be made, therefore, to analyze the effects of role strains upon the personality. My concern is solely with sources.

SOURCES OF STRAIN

Insecurity of Tenure

No occupational role guarantees perfect security of tenure, least of all, perhaps, that of the politician. The turnover in the ranks of elected public officials is very great as the investigations of Charles S. Hyneman have demonstrated.[3] His findings respecting tenure in ten state legislatures over a period of ten years (1925–1935) indicate that in only four of the twenty chambers studied had as many as 50 per cent of the members completed three sessions. And in seven chambers less than 25 per cent could show experience in three previous sessions. In "Tribulations of a State Senator" Duane Lockard claimed that "roughly half of the six thousand legislators you are going to elect will be entering the legislature for the first time. Most legislators cannot afford to serve more than

[3]Tenure and Turnover of Legislative Personnel, *Annals* 195 (Jan. 1938), 21–31.

one term."[4] Regardless of the reason fragmentary evidence indicates that tenure is far from being guaranteed in politics.

Although the insecurity of public office is a fact, it does, however, require an explanation. Whenever an occupational role is part of a competitive situation—as it normally is in politics—insecurity of tenure is bound to be felt. Tenure, of course, refers to the role itself and not to any other roles the person may occupy. A politician may have a guaranteed income from other sources so that his economic anxieties are allayed; yet his insecurity as a politician will force him to reduce the tensions of the political role. And this will not necessarily be done for selfish reasons. The reduction of tension will be an indicator of success as a politician, meaning that his work is being done more effectively. A person who has to devote considerable time and energy to the security of his tenure will be more responsive, both consciously and subconsciously, to the wishes of those governing his tenure than one who does not. The politician is in this position because he is elected. He is therefore peculiarly sensitive to the currents of public opinion in his constituency. The fickle nature of the crosscurrents of opinion adds to his insecurity, for the number of issues on which the constituency can be unified into significant, clear-cut majorities is rather small. The politician's mandate, then, is ambiguous on most issues and his insecurity heightened for that reason. No politician can ignore public opinion. Even when he feels it to be wrong, it is still a fact that he has to calculate when attempting to rule.

The strains of insecurity then stem from the periodic, usually rather short, terms of office that a politician can attain only by winning elections. Much of what a politician does can be viewed as varying forms of response to political insecurity. The very fact that American politicians respond more quickly and willingly to the demands of their constituencies than to those of their parties is a recognition, by them, of the source of the insecurity.[5] In devoting their attentions to the constituencies, they are hoping to relieve tension and its consequences.

[4]Tribulations of a State Senator, *Reporter* (May 17, 1956), pp. 24–28.

[5]Julius Turner, *Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress* (Baltimore, 1951), p. 179.

Increases in salary and pension plans are also means of coping with the problem. Control over elections—ranging from the purely legal ones of intense campaigning and gerrymandering to the illegal buying of votes—are additional responses. Among the better-known means of control has been the resistance of politicians to the adoption of open primaries. Since the primary adds another hurdle, many politicians obviously opposed it; when they could no longer prevent its development, they then moved to minimize its effects. They were aided in this by an indifferent electorate. No politician encourages competition, and certainly not at the primaries. There the effort is to eliminate as many potential competitors as possible before the formal election and to reduce the effectiveness of those who escape during the campaign.

Democratic forms of procedure, however, are designed to promote competition so that the politician can never be said to have complete control over his fate. And, as stated above, forces from without the constituency can and do affect tenure. Great social forces—and such well-known phenomenon as the "coattail" effect —all impinge upon the politician's tenure of office.[6] They are, almost of necessity, imponderable forces and difficult for the practical politician to control.

Role Conflicts

The fact that most politicians serve in more than one role as elective public officials guarantees conflicts among norms of performance. Expectations emanating from a variety of sources impinge upon the politician every time he is to make a decision. Various persons and groups constantly attempt to influence the decisions and the premises of the politician so that the actual decision will satisfy the interests of the persons specifying the premises or decisions.

Talcott Parsons' pattern-variable scheme enables us to categorize the premises of decisions in terms of five dichotomous choices on the part of the actor in orienting himself to his situation.[7] Different orientations mean different decisions on the part

[6]See V. O. Key, Jr., *American State Politics: An Introduction* (New York, 1956), chs. ii and viii; Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York, 1951).

[7]The pattern-variable scheme is dealt with in most of Parsons' recent work. The best introduction, however, is contained in the volume edited by Parsons and Edward A. Shils, *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 76–91.

of the politician—hence the great concern in shaping the politicians' orientation by other persons. If a politician chooses to accept or be guided in his decision making by one role in preference to another, he is forced to de-emphasize other roles he might be expected by some to perform. This matter of choosing certain premises rather than others brings out the problem of role conflict.

We can illustrate the point by characterizing two roles, the administrative and the partisan. When these roles are analyzed in terms of the pattern variables, one can readily see that the expectations concerning performances are contrary at every relevant choice point. The premises of action in each role are opposed. Whereas the administrator is expected to be affectively neutral, the partisan is expected to be affectively involved in the situation. Whereas the administrator's role is functionally specific, the partisan's is diffused. The administrator is expected to employ universalistic standards; the partisan, to employ particularistic criteria. Whereas administrators are expected to be achievement-oriented, the partisan has to be ascriptively oriented. And, finally, partisans are expected to be self-oriented, while administrators are expected to be collectivity-oriented.

The norms or premises of action expected by others of the politician are not always in conflict. At some of the relevant junctures in decision making, the premises may be the same so that no role conflict ensues. We know that administrative and the judicial roles have much in common. The one role which, perhaps, conflicts the most with each of the other roles is that of the partisan. One should not deduce, therefore, that the partisan role is dysfunctional and to be suppressed. Whether it ought to be is a value judgment and not a scientific one.

The conflicts that theoretically exist among the four roles of the polity can be simply presented in tabular form. This means of presentation has the merit of bringing out the relationships among the norms in a clearer fashion. Table 1 illustrates the role structure and possible areas of conflict. Read horizontally, Table 1 describes in terms of the pattern variables the premises or norms of each of the four possible roles constituting an office. If instead of the rows the columns are read, we are presented with the points at which conflicts among the norms or premises of decisions are found. Thus in the first column the conflicts are found between the

administrative role and both the executive and partisan roles. Again, the executive role conflicts with the judicial. In total there are four possible conflicts at this juncture in the decision-making process. One can proceed down the other columns in the same way and list the conflicts.

Table 1. The pattern-variables and role conflict.

Role	1	2	3	4	5
Admin.	Specific	Affective neutrality	Universalistic	Collectivity orientation	Achievement
Executive	Diffuse	Affective neutrality	Universalistic	Collectivity	Achievement
Partisan	Diffuse	Affective	Particularistic	Self-orientation	Ascription
Judicial	Specific	Affective neutrality	Universalistic	Collectivity	Ascription

A fruitful question to pose at this time is: Under what conditions are role conflicts most likely to occur? On an impressionistic basis alone the answer suggests that the major variables are the office, the structure of the constituency, and the incumbent of the office.

Obviously those offices which combine the greater number of roles will engender the most conflicts, whereas the offices with the fewest number of roles develop the fewest conflicts. Offices such as the presidency, governorships, and mayoralties of the large cities are likely to be the source of more conflicts than both legislative and judicial offices. In the latter case litigants and interested persons or groups have conflicting expectations about the outcome of a particular trial or decision, but the role of the justice is so clear-cut, so isolated from the other role, and so protected from the public and retribution that role conflicts are minimized. The legislative and executive offices are not so protected; but since the legislator generally has fewer roles to play, he has fewer conflicts. His conflicts are of another type involving the same role, usually the

partisan, in conflict with other partisans rather than with other roles. Republican and Democratic congressmen apply the same premises of action but come out with opposing decisions on a particular piece of legislation. One votes "yes" and the other "no."

It stands to reason that in the matter of constituencies, those districts which have the greatest heterogeneity in the voting population will cause the greatest number of conflicts for their elective public officials to resolve. Some voters will expect their officeholders to act as executives, and others will emphasize other roles. Generally speaking, the larger the constituency in terms of population, the greater will be the heterogeneity and the subsequent number of conflicts. Senators probably face more role conflicts than do congressmen, assuming other factors are constant. Because of the districting process some congressmen have larger constituencies than do many senators, so the former's problems may be magnified as a result. Congressman Celler is a good example, as he has more constituents than many western senators do. Among the executive offices role conflicts are greater on the national level than on the state and local levels.

Private versus Public Roles

The type of role conflict discussed in the previous section dealt with conflicts originating within or among the various roles that constitute an elective public office. But these are not the only role conflicts a politician must face. The fact is that politicians while fulfilling public office must also play private roles, i.e., roles without formal public responsibilities. The distinction between the two types of roles is a convention, as are all roles, but it is a convention of the greatest significance in a democracy and especially in America.

In short, behavior which is regarded as acceptable or even admirable in private life may not be so regarded in public office. Let us compare, e.g., the role of the businessman with that of an elected public officeholder. The former is not only permitted to attempt to maximize his financial returns but is encouraged to do so; the public official, on the other hand, is not only discouraged from doing so but is sometimes required to divest himself of financial holdings. The politician is expected to work directly and at all times for the public interest, whereas the businessman is

encouraged to serve his own ends. This contradiction between private, economic, and political roles would not be important if the politician could simply play one or the other role. In reality he must generally play both roles because public office seldom provides the incumbent his sole income. Insecurity of tenure and low salaries often force the politician to maintain other sources of income. As a result the politician has to live by a dual set of norms. To honor one set may mean the dishonoring of the other.

I should now like to consider another type of strain, one arising from this same source in the conflict of private and public roles. The previous illustration was one of a private and a public role conflict stemming from simultaneous adherence to both roles. Another type of strain results when a person transfers from one role to another but has difficulty in shedding his previous role and adopting the new one. This is particularly the case when at least one of the roles is sharply defined. A scholar, a military man, or a minister will probably have great difficulty in adjusting to the roles of a politician. Each role is not only sharply defined but defined in a way that is quite different from those of political life. Consider the notion of authority in each of these roles: the politician is expected to honor majorities; the minister the word of God; the scholar the canons of science; and the military man superior office or rank. A person who has devoted many years of obedience to any one set of these norms and who suddenly finds that he is expected to honor a new set is faced with very intense problems of adjustment. Political life subjects the person not only to a new set of norms but to different occupational problems, problems which it is not easy to prepare for through education or any other kind of experience. To be successful in a private role does not automatically guarantee success in public office. Illustrations are hardly necessary.

Ambiguities in Political Situations

Lest the discussion suggest that most political situations are characterized by clear-cut conflicting expectations, let me emphasize the fact that as many or even more are dominated by ambiguity. Instead of being pulled in opposite directions by well-known forces, the elected official is often in the position of a lost hunter seeking direction.

Both the administrative and partisan roles share in the ambiguity, but the latter experiences a somewhat different type. The ambiguities of the administrative role stem from a lack of knowledge concerning means, and the partisan has difficulty defining the goals of the community. Theoretically the former admit of scientific resolution; the latter only of compromise or power. Goals are, by definition, preferences, and in a democracy individual preferences are ideally weighted equally, as is testified by the practice of one man, one vote. While an administrator is concerned with the efficiency of means, the partisan focuses on the moral question of whether efficiency is the desired norm to apply. In a democracy efficiency may not be the proper end of societal action.

Yet the value problems confronted by the politician are not insoluble. Politicians do have some relatively stable reference points in the American value systems. The problem is one of the practical application of general norms to specific social problems. The task is not easy because standards change, constituency pressures are conflicting and powerful, and the authoritative documents, like the Constitution, are not always crystal clear. Politicians lack the certainty of scientifically valid answers, because political situations are concerned with values that do not admit of scientific treatment.[8]

Response to ambiguous situations is uncertain response, whereas response to conflicting but unequal forces is generally certain. Politicians often have "no comment" to make when confronted by the former case. They are "waiting for the dust to settle," for the situation to clarify itself in terms of expectations and possibilities. Those situations in which the greatest amount of ambiguity exist are those in which both the greatest amount of strain and perhaps freedom are present. Depending upon the incumbent, the politician can either be immobilized or creative. Well-structured situations can permit independent action, as in a constituency where a given problem is of little concern; such is the case in many northern districts where the "Negro problem" is unimportant. But they may also deter independent action when the expectations are over-

[8]The assertion is premised upon the notion that political systems are primarily concerned with the specification of societal goals and the mobilization of support for their implementation. And, finally, it is maintained that such goals are statements of preference and not factual assertions about reality.

whelming in one direction. Such is the case with politicians in the South when faced with race issues.

Politicians react to ambiguity by attempting to reduce it. Public opinion polls, newspaper commentary, personal contact with constituents, reports from advisers, research bureaus, investigating committees, and "trial balloons" are a few of the methods used to counteract uncertainty. But while politicians are utilizing more scientific processes to gather factual data for the structuring of situations, in the final analysis the data is never complete, nor can it resolve value questions, because logically an "ought" statement cannot be deduced from an "is" statement. The politician's responsibility to define system goals will always be fraught with ambiguity.

Diffused Responsibility and Limited Controls

Though the politician has to define his own sense of responsibility to some extent, it is probably safe to say that responsibility in all offices which have an executive role to play is diffused regardless of how the incumbent decides to structure his own role.[9] Executive responsibility is generalized rather than specific—as in most adminstrative roles or other nonpolitical, specialized roles. The focus in such a role is upon relationships with other persons rather than upon technical goals to be reached by the most efficient means. Men are to be treated less as instruments for the creation of things than as ends in themselves whose co-operation has to be sought before anything can be done. In a democracy diffused responsibility and limited controls over the situation are built into the situation of the leader. While the politician is often held responsible by someone for practically everything, he cannot control many of the variables that affect the outcome of the situation and its demands. This is, of course, more true of the executive role than of any other, and of national than of state and local offices. But politicians from all levels complain about the limited control they have to effectuate goals.

Most of the strain that comes from this disparity of responsibility and control relates to the structure of government in the United States. The American polity disperses power to such an extent that no one official is able to accomplish a task without the co-operation

[9]See Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill., 1951), p. 100.

of several other officials, who may have different values and goals and may, in addition, belong to a different party. Because the formal means for securing co-operation are not always sufficient, many informal means have grown up. I need not specify these means here, but merely indicate that role strains have encouraged them.

Politicians are constantly attempting to improve their control over their situations. Proposals are always being advanced to give the President more control, the Congress more control, the governors more control, and so on. I might quote a few politicians on the subject. Note how they claim inability to meet their functions as presently defined by themselves. Notice, too, that a simple reform of the structure of government is expected to improve their control. In general, while politicians always have good things to say about the American polity, they seldom deceive themselves about their own position within it. The governmental system, though outmoded in many respects, is never outmoded fundamentally. Efficiency can be introduced by enacting the necessary reforms.

Senator Kefauver has been quite articulate concerning reform of the governmental structure. In fact, he wrote a book on the subject, though restricting his analysis to the situation of congressmen. In the opening pages appears a straightforward statement about the strains of politics:

> Like many an average freshman congressman, I had my ideals and plans for worthwhile legislation.... I was anxious that Congress be equipped for the part it would have to play.
>
> As the years passed, the results were disappointing. I found that the outmoded legislative machinery made it difficult to get much done. I soon realized that the Congress, intended by the Founding Fathers to be the predominate branch of the government, was ill-equipped to chart the legislative program of the nation and was surrendering too many treasured powers to the Executive. I also discovered that the numerous other services expected of a congressman left me little time to study or analyze legislation.[10]

Later, Senator Kefauver speculates on the reasons why men leave active political careers. One of the reasons was the "feeling of

[10]Estes Kefauver and Jack Levin, *A Twentieth Century Congress* (New York, 1947), p. vii.

frustration due to the inefficiency that results from trying to run a twentieth-century Congress without adequate tools." The frustrations of office outweighed the contributions one could make.

The volume of work and responsibility is simply too taxing for the legislator to accept his job with equanimity. Practically every student of the legislative process has commented upon this fact and suggested reforms to improve the condition. Senator Kefauver was one of these people. Senator La Follette was another.[11] Those who assisted La Follette and Senator Monroney in the legislative reorganization of Congress in 1946 also wished to reduce the demands upon the legislator stemming from organizational sources.

Time and the Pressure of Demands

A persistent complaint of politicians at all levels is related to the number of demands being made on their time and influence. Voters commonly overestimate the influence of politicians; consequently they ask them to do the impossible. More burdensome are their time-consuming requests; the politician often feels this time could better be devoted to more important matters. Local politicians expect to perform chores and usually do not complain to the same extent as do politicians who are concerned with more significant policy matters. Senator Downey of California gives a vivid portrait of the burdens of a senator, burdens which, incidentally, are increasing:

> Each day Senators have matters come before them which could, if they could spare the time, occupy their attentions for months...yet here we are compelled to dispose of weighty and complicated matters after being able to listen to arguments only for perhaps an hour or two.... Observe for a moment the volume of business that is done in my office alone. It is so great as almost to break me and my whole staff down. In mail alone we receive from 200 to 300 letters every 24 hours. And this in addition to telegrams and long-distance calls and personal visits. We do the best we can. We try to have every letter answered the day it is received. My staff is departmentalized. That is, each girl is an expert in some particular field.... If the office were not so organized, we could not possibly begin to carry the load. Yet, Mr. Chairman, I can say to you truthfully that even if I had four times the amount of time I have I could not possibly perform adequately and fully the

[11]Robert M. La Follette, Jr., "A Senator Looks at Congress," *Atlantic Monthly*, 172 (July 1943), 91–96.

duties imposed upon me as ambassador from my state. In the departments of government there are always delays or injustices or matters overlooked in which a Senator can be of very great assistance to his constituents. The flood of duties in my office has reached such proportions, and is so steadily increasing, that I am almost totally unable to enter into the study of any legislative matters. That means that frequently I have to inform myself concerning matters of importance by listening to arguments on the floor of the Senate. And yet even my presence on the floor is only intermittent, so great is the burden of my office duties if I am to efficiently carry out my responsibilities with respect to the state of California.[12]

Senator Fulbright adds his lament in the following words:

But the fact is that the multitude of requests for minor personal services comes close to destroying the effectiveness of a great many capable representatives. The legislator finds himself in a dilemma. If he refuses to see the constant stress of visitors or to give personal attention to their requests, they may become offended and withdraw their support. In addition, it is personally gratifying to be able to be of help to one's friends. On the other hand, if he does give his attentions to these matters, he literally has no time left for the intelligent study and reflection that sound legislation requires.[13]

The senator further states that voters often will not accept the services of secretaries but insist on the personal attention of the politician. "They [the voters] feel that they elected the Senator and they are, therefore, entitled to his personal attention."[14] Senator Kennedy adds:

If we tell our constituents frankly that we can do nothing, they feel we are unsympathetic or inadequate. If we try and fail—usually meeting a counteraction from other Senators representing other interests —they say we are like all the rest of the politicians. All we can do is retreat into the cloakroom and weep on the shoulder of a sympathetic colleague—or go home and snarl at our wives.[15]

Several of the quotations just given suggest rather strongly that politicians, at least those on the congressional level, feel frustrated in their mission by the press of time and conflicting demands in

[12]George B. Galloway, *Congress at the Crossroads* (New York, 1946), p. 279.

[13]J. William Fulbright, The Legislator: Duties, Functions, and Hardships of Public Officials, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 12 (May 15, 1946), 470.

[14]*Ibid.*

[15]*New York Times Magazine*, Dec. 18, 1955, p. 34.

their situation. The politician often feels that he has a job of considerable responsibility and that petty demands prevent him from making the contribution which he was elected to do and ought to do. Young politicians are frequently disillusioned about politics in this respect. Senator Neuberger, then a newly elected state legislator in Oregon, wrote: "I arrived at our new marble Capitol expecting to spend most of my time considering momentous issues —social security, taxes, conservation, civil liberties. Instead, we have devoted long hours to the discussions of regulations for the labeling of eggs."[16]

Status Insecurities

Adequate performance on the part of role incumbents requires some form of compensation or appreciation for the services rendered. Most men like to believe that what they are doing is a contribution to others and that the relevant others know this and are grateful. Politicians are no different in this respect than are other people; if anything, they are even more sensitive to opinion about their work than are many other groups in the community. Although politicians occasionally voice dissatisfaction with their monetary rewards, more often the complaint is about an assumed low social status. According to T. V. Smith and L. D. White, "The politician's faith in himself has been impaired by the people's distrust of him."[17] I have some doubts about the assumption of a low status for the politician, but the important point is the assumption in the case of the politicians themselves. If they feel they are appreciated, they may act accordingly. "If he [the politician] believes in himself he'll devote himself to his high mission," Smith and White conclude.[18]

Senator Robert La Follette, Jr., voiced a common complaint in respect to the status of Congressmen:

Congress has been a favorite target for the disgruntled, the disappointed, the intellectual snobs, and the doubters of democracy alike. But most of this criticism is not constructive. It springs from personal prejudice, political bias, and above all from an utter lack of knowledge

[16] I Go to the Legislature, *Survey Graphic*, 30 (July 1941), 374.

[17] *Politics and Public Service: A Discussion of the Civic Art in America* (New York, 1939), p. 228.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

of the workaday problems with which a great legislative body must deal.[19]

After stating that "a legislator, like other people, has an ego that requires expression and recognition if it is to avoid becoming warped and eccentric," Senator Fulbright went on to say:

> Honorable men in public life can take the abuse that is heaped upon them by the public so long, and then they succumb to a sense of futility and frustration. It is true that some of the frustration that afflicts the Member of Congress is due to the antique and obsolete organization of the Congress itself, and it should be remedied. But of far greater influence upon the decision of good men to remain in politics is the attitude of those whom they seek to serve.[20]

Senator Neuberger has also been quoted as saying the vilification of politics is "one of the nation's basic problems."[21]

Status insecurities thus grow out of the ambivalent status accorded the politician by the voters. The politician is never quite certain whether he has a position of respect or not. If he is convinced that he has, he is still unsure about the reason for it. The reasons may not be particularly admirable ones, for the politician is subject to much selfish flattery. Some he can recognize, but not all. As a result many politicians are likely to manifest forms of behavior that indicate doubt about their prestige.

The foregoing quotations indicate some of the responses of the politician to his status insecurity. The first response is to give verbal expression to the fact, writing articles about the plight of the public official. Note, too, that the writers assert vigorously that the politician is mistakenly abused and that he serves a vital function in society. Typical in this respect is an article by Governor Bradford of Massachusetts entitled, "Politicians Are Necessary Too."[22] A congressman and scholar has written an article on "The Magnitude of the Task of the Politician" to prove that the politician deserves better treatment.[23] In *Profiles in Courage* a well-known present-day senator, John Kennedy, has defended the politician by

[19]La Follette, *op. cit.*, p. 92. [20]Fulbright, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

[21]Quoted by Maurice Klain, 'Politics'—Still a Dirty Word, *Antioch Review* (Winter 1955–1956), 464.

[22]*Harvard Business Review*, 32 (Nov.-Dec. 1954), 37–41.

[23]Frederich M. Davenport, in *Harvard Business Review*, 11 (July 1943), 468–477.

citing historical examples of great politicians who lived up to their principles. There is a certain defensiveness about such articles and books, indicating that the politician is not only interested in correcting the public's view of him but in sustaining his own conception of himself as a useful member of society.

Status insecurity can take other forms. One of the more obvious is for the politician simply to leave the realm of active politics. As noted earlier, Senator Kefauver believes some excellent congressmen are leaving government for precisely this reason. I have no statistics on the matter, but it seems certain that status insecurity does lead some men to leave politics. The writer knows of two individuals who paricipated in local politics but decided, with the approval of their wives, that they had taken enough abuse from unappreciative voters. Their resentment is considerable, even though other politicians have taken more abuse during the same period and in the same area.

Politicians form a sort of informal mutual admiration society to compensate for their insecurities. The often exaggerated deference that politicians show for one another, in spite of party affiliations, suggests a latent function in terms of maintaining morale. The politicians who appear on television and radio to debate various issues always pay high tributes to their opponents and colleagues. The same is true of much of the debate that takes place in legislative assemblies. The contributions of one politician are always cited by other politicians in their public appearances. Incidentally the politician generally refers to his colleagues as "statesmen," and seldom, except during a campaign and only in regard to the opposition, as "politicians."

Still another means of coping with status insecurity is for the politician to adopt a cynical attitude toward those who are responsible for his situation, the voters. Not infrequently, the politician becomes tough-minded and cynical. By distrusting other people and their motives, he immunizes himself from criticism and disappointment. The politician may attempt to convince himself that he is uninterested in the attitudes of others. In fact, he cannot be, but the delusion is comforting.

Some politicians adopt a stoic view to handle their status problems. Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower have all been

known to say that the varying degrees of abuse to which each has been subjected is petty and unimportant compared to the criticism suffered by some of the greatest of American Presidents. The detractors are, so Truman is reported to have once said, soon forgotten. The historical-minded politician is more concerned with what future generations will think of him than what his contemporaries do. The conviction that what one is doing will be of lasting importance sustains the politician through the rocky present.

The role of humor ought not to be underestimated as a means for handling the strains of politics, including that of status insecurity. Politicians like the late Senator Barkley were not only renowned for their gift of humor but also honored for the use which they made of it during times of great stress. The politician, as Senator Wiley has shown, is quite capable of laughing at himself.[24] The fact that he can and does may constitute an effort to minimize the difficulties of political life.

CONCLUSION

I have indicated some of the major sources of strain in the occupation of the elected public official. Instead of summarizing them, I want, now, to list a few propositions or, better, hypotheses about role strains in the hope that others may be stimulated to further research. The hypotheses are stated in an unqualified manner and without supporting evidence.

Hypothesis 1. The more complex the social system, the more numerous are the possible sources of role strains.

Hypothesis 2. The more sharply roles are defined in a system the more intense will be the resultant strains where role conflict occurs.

Hypothesis 3. In the American polity executive offices are subject to more role strains than are legislative and judicial offices.

Hypothesis 4. Legislative offices are subject to more role strains than are judicial offices.

Hypothesis 5. The higher the office, i.e., in terms of the local, state, and national division, the more numerous the role strains.

Two further subjects deserve emphasis. The first concerns the practical use of any information which might result from further studies in the area of occupational role strains in politics. We know

[24] *Laughing with Congress* (New York, 1947).

very little about the way in which public officials respond to the conditions under which they labor. Yet, as democrats, we want them to perform their functions in a responsive and responsible manner. Traditional political theory has not offered much help in devising conditions that will produce the desired behavior. Since much of political behavior is conditioned by the strains to which it is subject, we might inquire into those strains, their sources, and the resultant behavior. If we can understand and, perhaps, control the strains, we will be in a better position to make the ideals of democratic rule possible. I do not wish to be understood as pleading for a reduction of the strains of politicians, if indeed that were possible. American democratic theory has always emphasized the desirability of subjecting public officials to various strains, and no doubt there is much to be said for this position. But empirical evidence on the point is rare, and the problem remains. In any case it is worth entertaining the view that the elected official's work, like that of other organizational members, might be improved by bettering his conditions of employment.

The final point I want to make relates to research on role strains. Relationships need to be established—if there are any—among types of offices, personalities, awareness of strains among politicians, and their behavior. The research apparatus of the social sciences is sufficiently advanced to handle most of the problems involved. Questionnaires and interviews can be used quite effectively in getting at a politician's awareness of his occupational problems and frustrations. Harold Lasswell long ago demonstrated some of the possibilities. More recently certain political scientists have shown how legislators respond to conflicting expectations when they cast their votes. And, of course, we have a rich background of historical and biographical writing from which to derive hypotheses and data. Burns's study of Roosevelt and the Georges' personality analysis of Wilson contain excellent material on the role strains of these two Presidents.

Nels Anderson and K. J. Nijkerk

International Seminars: An Analysis and an Evaluation

Although some 1,200 international organizations use seminars extensively in carrying out their work, there have been few systematic attempts to evaluate their effectiveness and the conditions that distinguish them from similar meetings of a national character. In this study the authors attempt to gauge the effectiveness of seminar management by observation of twenty-four international seminars, attended by experts from fifty-seven countries. Owing to the different substantive character and goals of the seminars, it was difficult to establish a common measure of effectiveness, and effectiveness was finally defined as the ability of the seminar to develop into a homogeneous, face-to-face working group that could agree or disagree in an atmosphere of cordiality. The major findings and some of the problems of the research study are outlined, particularly the sensitivity of several international organizations to being evaluated by members of another international organization.

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ACCORDING to the evidence available to the writers, more than a thousand international meetings take place each year, at least since 1954. These range in size from gatherings of a hundred or so

participants to the mass congresses of several thousand. The number and variety is really not known, but they are as plentiful and varied as the international organizations, of which there were more than 600 before World War II and the number has more than doubled since.

When international organizations come into being, there must be international meetings. Some of these international meetings are registered with such international bodies as UNESCO, but most of them are known only to the groups concerned.[1] These vague estimates of a thousand or more international meetings a year do not include intergovernmental meetings, although public officials often take part in meetings of nongovernmental associations. They do include the meetings of various world organizations such as UNESCO, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Labor Office, and others.

Not only do international meetings increase in number, they also tend to become more important and very much more interrelated than formerly. They tend to become more systematically and strategically organized than formerly and, though it is not pertinent to this article, they tend increasingly to fit into patterns. Nongovernmental organizations find it necessary to fit their meetings, with respect to timing and agendas, to the programs of large world bodies. It is now being realized that such meetings may be carried out well or badly, that international gatherings may not only result in a waste of time and money, but that they may even be productive of ill feeling if they are not affectively managed.

Conventions including several hundred participants and congresses of a thousand or more, with few exceptions, give rise to many smaller meetings. These may be concerned with assigned tasks for working parties or special committees, or they may concern problems which call for study. The small international meeting of experts is a task force for these and other purposes. It is being recognized as a most effective working unit. The present report is concerned with a project to study such small meetings of experts.

[1]Geneviève Devilié, Les Reunions Internationales en 1954, *Non-Governmental Organizations Bulletin,* vol. VII, June 1955 (issued by the Union of International Associations, Brussels).

THE STUDY OF SEMINARS

Apparently most international organizations make use of the small meeting which may be called a symposium, a work shop, or a seminar, although the term seminar is most commonly used. The activities of such world bodies as FAO, WHO, and UNESCO have done much to increase the popularity of this type of international meeting. During 1949 and 1950 UNESCO took the initiative in calling attention to the need for more effective management of the different types of international assemblies. A number of minor studies were undertaken, primarily of an exploratory nature.[2]

Although UNESCO was interested in the larger meetings of the convention and congress type,[3] its principal interest was in the more widely used seminar of experts. A project, designed as a beginning in this direction, was undertaken for UNESCO by the Unesco Institute for Social Sciences at Cologne in co-operation with the Sociaal Paedagogisch Instituut of the University of Amsterdam. This was designed as a pilot study. It is nothing new to study small discussion groups, a type of research that has gone far, especially in the United States, but there has been no such research into the dynamics of international discussion groups. Little or no literature on this subject is to be found. Much of the material dealing with the study of seminars at the national level turned out to be of limited use in connection with the study of international seminars.

Precisely because these cross-border seminars are multinational and multilingual, they differ from national seminars in other respects. Communication is more difficult, and relationships are more delicate, and sometimes the climate of informality is less readily established. For these and other reasons this first project to observe the behavior of these seminars had to proceed slowly and

[2]A summary of these efforts was published by UNESCO in a special issue of the *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. V, 1953, under the general title "The Technique of International Conferences."

[3]Under the sponsorship of UNESCO and WHO a study of larger conferences was carried out by the Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences. The report was published by Blackwell Scientific Publications as *The Planning of International Meetings* (Oxford, 1957). This handbook also deals briefly with small seminars, (called symposia), but it is primarily concerned with the planning of larger meetings.

with caution. It was proposed to observe eight of such meetings, but this turned out to be a big order. Although most organizations making use of the seminar were vocally in favor of observing and evaluating such discussion groups, it was very soon discovered that it was difficult to find any organization willing to have its own seminars studied.

SEMINARS DEFINED IN TERMS OF THE PROJECT

Small meetings which bear the name of seminar are of many kinds. Some have a planning or administrative relationship to larger international bodies. Some have a functional relationship to some common interest and meet periodically with little or no change in membership. Each meeting is a continuation of the previous one; perhaps the subject of discussion is a long-term research project. Others may be called and managed by some interested organization or individual, and in some respects they may be described as supervised seminars. It was thought advisable to exclude such meetings as well as certain other types that did not meet the specifications which follow:

The seminar acceptable for this study should be small, suitable for informal communication, including preferably about twenty members coming from three or more different countries. Although normally only two languages are used, participants should stem from a variety of language groups. More will be said about the language problem later.

Such a seminar should be one with a program and a purpose which may not only call for careful planning but may also involve follow-up activity. The plan and purpose should be such that participation in the seminar calls for persons who are specialists in the subject. In other words, the seminar meets to consider a special problem or in some way to perform a task which would be considered the work of experts. It is not a decision-making group, although it may bring forth recommendations or conclusions. It has no authority for implementing these recommendations, although the members may influence actions in their own countries.

The persons invited to the type of seminar to be studied are presumably selected because they are recognized as experts. They

come together as individuals having a common interest and comparable qualifications. While they may be identified with governmental bodies or nongovernmental organizations, they do not function in the meeting as representatives. With respect to their *expertise* (and even here they may differ) they are a homogeneous group, however they may differ with respect to nationality, race, and cultural characteristics.

It was decided to include no seminar in the study that did not continue for three days or more or that lasted more than ten days.[4]

During the period of the study, May 1956 to March 1957, more than a hundred seminars were located that fitted the specifications to some degree. Not more than one out of four met all of the requirements.

CONCERNING OBSERVATION AND CONSENT

Here we come to a matter that needs to be mentioned although it lies outside the study itself. To find a seminar for observation it was necessary to look about, writing many letters and asking questions, in order to learn when seminars would meet and where, what they would be about, how many would participate, who would be in charge, and so on. Then began the correspondence asking permission to observe the seminar. Often the letters and even follow-up letters were not answered, or they were answered very late with the result that the seminar had to be dropped from our list. In no case was there a direct refusal, but the technique of the delayed reply was so generally used that it had to be regarded as evidencing an unwillingness to be included in the study.

The accumulation of indirect evidence tended to confirm the conclusion that most international organizations react with suspicion to any approach of this kind by another international organization, as if the observation of a seminar by another organization might turn out to be a form of spying. Whatever basis there

[4]Among the seminars observed only one was of three days' duration. One of two days' duration was included because it met so perfectly all the other requirements. One seminar that lasted fourteen days was included because of its peculiar character. It was a large group divided into working sections, each of discussion-group size. The management was experimenting with a method and was happy to have an observer present.

may be for this fear, and it must be so regarded, it is very real, like that of the housewife who doesn't want certain neighbors to look into her kitchen.

It also became evident that many persons in seminar-sponsoring organizations, as well as persons responsible for the guidance of such meetings, had had no experience with studies in group dynamics. To some of them the idea was not only strange, but also a little foolish. In their view, only erroneous conclusions could result. The skeptical seminar organizer or chairman was not ready to risk the possibility of negative conclusions, which might be noised about. For most of the observed seminars it was necessary to make personal visits before these reservations, rarely spoken but always evident, could be overcome and permission to observe received.

Even some of those who gave such consent had some concern lest the presence of the observer have a disturbing influence on the discussion. The observer explained his presence during the first session, after being introduced by the chairman. Perhaps he was asked some questions. In two sessions a vote was taken to decide whether he should be permitted to remain. Usually the presence of the observer made no difference after the first session, although between sessions there was increasing interest in his work. In no case was there any negative experience during the seminar or were objections raised later.

THE INSTRUMENTS FOR COLLECTING DATA

Before these instruments are described, it needs to be mentioned that the project included two groups of seminars. The eight observed seminars have already been mentioned. Two other seminars were observed in an experimental way, but they were not included in the observed group. The second group included sixteen seminars that were not observed. Certain of the seminars for which observation permission was not received were included in this group. Participants in the second group of seminars received a follow-up questionnaire, usually from one to three months afterward.

For all participants in the eight observed seminars there were three questionnaires: one that was distributed before the meeting

asking about their preparation, their advance knowledge of the seminar, and their expectations; the second which was distributed immediately after the final session to get their first reactions; and the third which was sent to the homes of the participants a month or six weeks later. There was a special preseminar and a special postseminar questionnaire for seminar chairmen and leaders. The follow-up questionnaire for members and chairmen of the observed seminars were the same. Follow-up questionnaires for the sixteen nonobserved seminars were quite similar to those used for the observed seminars.

All questionnaires were printed in English, French, and German, although English and French were the languages used by most participants. Care was taken in phrasing the questions so they would be understandable by persons having a limited knowledge of one of these languages only. Questionnaires given to participants and chairmen in the observed seminars formed a three-part pattern through which it was possible to compare postseminar reactions with expectations expressed in the preseminar questionnaire and later to check these with answers given in follow-up questionnaires.

In addition to the questionnaires there was the time and activity chart, to be described next, and the personal interviews. The observer (for some seminars there were two) used every opportunity when seminars were not in session for engaging the members in conversation, which was very helpful in supplementing information recorded on the chart. There were usually two or more interviews with the seminar leader at different points during the meeting, with a longer one at the termination of the seminar.

THE TIME AND ACTIVITY CHART

During one of the experimental observations a well-known American chart was used, but for a variety of reasons it did not seem satisfactory. It was perhaps too complicated in that it attempted to measure the focus of the remarks of a speaker, whether addressed to a particular person, to the chairman, or to the group. It involved drawing many lines in different directions and marking thereon the duration of each speech. It was thought better to use a sheet of graph paper on which each speaker was given a line. On this it was possible, not only to record speaking

time for each participant, but to present a continuous record as the discussion moved from left to right through the minutes and hours. But it was thought that this alone was not a sufficient record.

Some method was needed for recording the climate of the discussion. At one point there may be deep attentiveness, at another apathy; or again the group may be restless or amused or sullen and so on. These types of group behavior can be recorded by appropriate symbols at different points on the chart. In addition, there may be items of a situational nature which may affect seminar communication. These would include sudden noises, a person being called to the telephone, undue changes in the temperature of the room, smoke in the room, and the like.

It would be unusual if the seminar process moved without friction from one session to another. At least for the international seminar there are periods of smooth working intermingled with periods of apparent frustration, even of tension; then suddenly the process clarifies and again the conversation goes in circles. The problem may be one of communication. Interpretation from one language to another may become a mere exchange of words with meanings not conveyed. These tension points may often be seen on the chart in the form of much talk, perhaps with different persons speaking at the same time. Not only is it possible to read these moods of the group from the chart, but the chart may be used later for locating the reasons for changes from one mood to another.

It must be added that the possibilities of this type of time and activity chart could not be fully developed on such a limited project. With further development persons managing a seminar might use it to observe the record of a complete performance, much as athletes review their performances on a motion picture screen. For the purposes of this study it could not be used except to get general impressions of individual and group behavior. It is an open record and can be shown to members of the group being observed. In one seminar, for example, a new member arrived on the third day. The informality that had been developed suddenly disappeared for an entire session while the new member was being "accepted," and during this interim the tempo of the discussion slowed down. The observer recorded in his notes that speakers became more formal in their address. In this instance the chart

contained part of the evidence, but the meaning was not clear until the record was compared with the notes of the observer.

Notes were usually brief but they are marked for the hour and minute, for example: 11:46 "Chairman B left the room, H replaced him." 11:50 "coffee was served." 11:55 "Chairman B returns." The notes are a step by step verbal record containing whatever seems pertinent to the observer.

THE FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRES

As already mentioned, follow-up questionnaires were sent to all seminar participants in the eight observed and the sixteen non-observed seminars. In most cases these were dispatched from a month to six weeks after the close of the seminar. A special letter was prepared for each seminar group indicating why information about this meeting was pertinent to the study. This explanation was not needed for persons who had participated in the observed seminars, for they knew that the follow-up schedule was to come. The pertinent figures were:

Total	
Questionnaires sent to participants	592
Completed questionnaires returned	288
Per cent of questionnaires returned	49
Nonobserved Seminars	
Questionnaires sent to participants	424
Completed questionnaires returned	191
Per cent of questionnaires returned	45
Observed Seminars	
Questionnaires sent to participants	168
Completed questionnaires returned	97
Per cent of questionnaires returned	58

Questionnaires were sent to persons in a total of 57 countries; however, of the total about two-thirds (342) were sent to participants in the following ten countries:

France	69	Germany	26
United Kingdom	62	Belgium	24
Switzerland	41	Holland	22
United States	37	Denmark	17
Italy	27	Sweden	17

This distribution appears to reflect a bias, not only in favor of industrial urban countries, but in favor of Western European countries. But there is also a bias in favor of France. For these small international meetings of experts, the logical meeting area is Europe. Cost of travel is one deciding factor, but another factor is the presence in Western Europe (especially Brussels, Geneva, Paris, Rome) of the seats of many international organizations.

Another explanation for this bias is found in the fact that these were seminars of experts, persons known in their own countries and outside as experts. Apparently a good share of these are clustered in the countries listed above. The invitations are issued from one or another of these countries. Not always are the experts in faraway countries known, or, if known, transportation costs are high.[5]

The percentages for questionnaires returned was unusually high. It is understandable that the 58 per cent of returns by participants in the observed seminars should be higher than the figure (49 per cent) for participants in the nonobserved ones, for these participants had already participated in a phase of the study. However, on the basis of the experience of the writers with the letter-answering habits of experts, such a high return of answers had not been expected. But the returns recorded do not tell the whole story. About ten participants did not return their questionnaires; they wrote letters instead, saying that the questionnaire was not adequate for the thoughts they wished to express, or they said it had been lost. It should also be mentioned that many questionnaires were not returned for as much as three to five months after they were sent. Several of these late arrivals were received after compilations had begun. This means that percentage returns for nonobserved seminars would exceed 50 and it would be something under 70 per cent for observed seminars.

The general purpose of the follow-up questionnaire was to learn from participants about values derived by them from the seminar. For the observed seminars similar questions were asked in the

[5]For most of the observed seminars, as well as for most of the nonobserved ones, costs of transportation were paid by the organization sponsoring the seminar. Usually the budget was limited, and there was not sufficient money to bring persons from far places, hence few were invited from Canada and South American countries and almost none from Australia. Participants from the United States were often persons who happened to be in Europe at the time.

postseminar questionnaire. When these were checked with responses in the follow-up questionnaire, some striking differences were noted. Answers given immediately following the seminar were often glowing with favorable opinion and strong in their resolutions about follow-up work that would be done when participants reached their home countries. The fact that very seldom had these resolutions been carried out may explain the failure of some individuals to return their questionnaires. One point of interest, as far as the observed seminars were concerned, is that in the follow-up questionnaires a greater value was placed on personal contacts made at the seminar than had been done in the postseminar questionnaires. To a high degree the follow-up questionnaires revealed that participants had corresponded with colleagues whose acquaintance they made during the seminar.

It needs to be recognized that the follow-up questionnaire sent out so soon after the meeting would not be very productive, except for observations about the seminar and its management, and it did serve this purpose. For learning something about values derived from the seminar, this questionnaire would need to be followed by another, sent perhaps a year later, a task out of the reach of this project.

THOSE WHO GET INVITED

Although it is generally assumed that persons invited to participate in these seminars for experts were chosen because they were indeed experts, this ideal was only occasionally achieved. This is not information that can be had from a questionnaire, but it is a type of information that comes out in various ways after the seminar gets under way. It is hardly necessary to argue that approximately a majority of the participants should rate as experts if the seminar is to be effective. Of course, there are different kinds of experts, even in a fairly specialized field, but that thought need not be developed here.

When a world organization such as UNESCO undertakes a seminar, the inviting procedure generally takes a formalized course. The UNESCO commissions in the different countries are asked to suggest the names of persons suitable for such a meeting. This procedure may bring too many persons, and the seminar may become too unwieldy for effectiveness; it may also assemble a very

mixed group, another source of frustration. The world organization may try to meet this difficulty by holding a regional seminar, but again it is necessary to invite persons from all countries in the region, some of whom will not be experts. Another method is to "farm out" the seminar responsibility to some private international association, the private body being free to invite participants personally.

However, not even the private international organization is always free in making selections, for each such organization has its own network of obligations and its own relationships to maintain with key personalities in different countries. Let us say that this can hardly be avoided, and we must recognize that the private international organization is better situated than the semipolitical world organization for selecting suitable persons.

There are other considerations which face every seminar sponsor. From which countries will participants be drawn? One may assume that it does not matter, since they are invited as individuals. Yet the sponsor may be criticized if he invites two or more from a small country and only one or none from a neighboring large country. It is necessary to know whether certain experts are so recognized in their own countries. It must be learned if persons to be invited will be available when the seminar meets.[6] It may not be possible to bring certain much-desired experts who live in distant places, and others must be found. Then there is the delicate problem of considering in advance whether certain persons invited will get on well with others to be invited.

Sometimes the sponsor takes the position that each seminar should include, in addition to the seasoned experts, two or three younger ones, the argument being that the seminar should also be an occasion for learning. Most of the seasoned experts do not share this view. In both the postseminar and follow-up questionnaires from participants in the observed seminars there was considerable criticism of the management if the experts thought too many

[6]In most countries there are persons who receive many invitations to attend international meetings. They become well known and are much sought after. Not infrequently such persons accept invitations but find later they cannot attend. Perhaps with or without informing the sponsor they may send some assistant in their stead, but the assistant may not qualify as an expert. This type of substitution occurred a number of times in the seminars observed. It is usually good experience for the assistant, but in some cases he may not be an asset to the seminar.

neophytes had been present. The following sums up the complaint: "We were encouraged to prepare papers based on our research. But the time was used discussing the most elementary things. It was a waste of time." This remark concerned one of the nonobserved seminars; however, it was noted in the observed seminars that if the nonexpert members participated in the proceedings the level of the discussion was lowered to their plane of interest and understanding. The difficulty was met sometimes by dividing the seminar into small working groups, giving the more expert group a task in keeping with the capabilities of its members.[7]

KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES

Persons invited to join an international seminar are handicapped to some extent if they cannot speak at least one language beside their own, and that extra language should be English or French. The native languages of the participants were: 24 per cent, English; 20 per cent, French; 14 per cent, German; 12 per cent, Scandinavian; 7 per cent, Dutch; 6 per cent, Slavic; 5 per cent, Italian, and 12 per cent Spanish and other languages. Since English and French are the usual conference languages, it means that 56 per cent of the participants in these seminars had to communicate in a language other than their own. Among these participants, however, language knowledge was wide; for example:

Native languages of participants	*Percentage able to speak:*		
	English	*French*	*German*
Scandinavian	97	40	57
German	97	81	—
French	88	—	44
English	—	54	21

This means that about 60 per cent of the participants were

[7]Personal information regarding seminar participants was limited to age, sex, occupation, and language knowledge. Figures on the first three items for the observed and nonobserved seminar members follow: 30.1 per cent were under 40 years; 32.5 per cent were between 40 and 49; 27.7 per cent were between 50 and 59 years, and 9.7 per cent were over 60 years. Twenty-five per cent of participants were women, and most of these were in the educational seminars. Concerning occupation, 53 per cent of the respondents called themselves teachers or professors, but it seems that many of the teachers were active at the university level. Twenty-nine per cent called themselves researchers, but many professors were also active in research. The remaining 18 per cent were librarians, journalists, public officials, functionaries of international organizations, or members of other professions.

fairly-well-equipped in languages. As the figures indicate, English-speaking participants were the least equipped in this regard. It was found in the observed seminars that American participants had less language knowledge than their British colleagues. It should be explained that colleagues from the "little countries" such as Holland and the Scandinavian lands can hardly function professionally without knowing foreign languages. They must be able to write in another language in order to have a wider audience. Generally they favor English.

It was learned that the percentages of participants from non-conference language countries are often high because of one or another type of selection. Sometimes the sponsor of the seminar, before inviting a person, may try to learn whether he can speak either English or French. Sponsors have learned through experience that the person without such language knowledge may be a seminar problem. Or if such a person is invited, another person from the same country, able to speak English or French, will also be invited. The selection may also take place in the countries of origin, if these are asked to recommend participants. One man told the project staff that attending seminars and conferences has become a burden to him. He is often nominated because of his knowledge of languages.[8]

Participants in the observed seminars were asked to indicate the languages they thought most suitable for conference purposes. The answers were somewhat surprising:

51 per cent named English only
28 per cent suggested English and French
16 per cent suggested English, French, and German
5 per cent favored English and German

In every case English was named as one of the languages, and in more than half of the answers English alone was mentioned.

When asked about their language difficulties, 60 per cent of the

[8]Language is less a problem if simultaneous interpretation is used. The speaker can be translated into two or more languages at the same time. But the electronic equipment is usually costly. Some people are of the opinion that simultaneous interpretation is too mechanical and interferes with seminar informality. With concurrent interpretation the interpreter takes notes and then translates the speaker. Three languages make the process difficult. However, an efficient interpreter, using two languages, is able to save time by summarizing, but only rarely is such an interpreter to be found.

respondents indicated that they had been *somewhat disturbed* because of the language obstacle. Another 9 per cent reported that the language problem had been a serious handicap to them. On the other hand, many participants who understood both English and French complained that communication had been too much disturbed by the interpretation interruptions. Such persons often interrupted the interpreter if they felt that their meanings were not being conveyed by the translation.

On numerous occasions it was noted that speakers may make use of uncommon or difficult idioms without realizing it, or in some instances they may use terms to which they give special meanings. These may be difficult for the interpreter, and misunderstandings about meanings may develop. Or a speaker may get a feeling of frustration if he tries to convey a thought by telling a joke, especially if the joke involves some play on words. Inexperienced participants who have not learned to take such matters in their stride are likely to feel frustrated at times. Such feelings tend to be communicated even when not spoken. Thus communication in the international seminar becomes central to its informality.

THE OBSERVER AND THE OBSERVED

Something has already been said about the difficulty of finding sponsors who would consent to have their seminars observed. In no case was an invitation sent to the observers. The observers had to ask for permission to attend and had to meet the arguments that their presence would serve no good purpose and might even throw the seminar out of balance. It must also be mentioned that after admission no objections were expressed to the presence of the observer. Able to speak in four languages, he was at an advantage with respect to communication. Moreover, as a personable individual, his relations with seminar members usually became very cordial. It was possible for him to learn, through joking remarks about "spies" or by other means, that many seminar members, at least at the outset, were unfriendly either to the project or to an observer at the seminar. These attitudes would probably not be encountered by seminar observers on the national level.

Although in every seminar some members remained aloof but cordial, others became intensely interested. The observer had to

be on guard. He could not talk about his observations, except in the most general way. He avoided making any observations that might reflect either positively or negatively on individuals, and, above all, he had to remain interested but express no opinions about the seminar process. His charts were highly impersonal, and they could be shown to interested individuals, most of whom had their own ideas about the group's behavior.

The observer took no part in the seminar discussion. He usually sat at some point in the circle remote from the chairman, but where he could see and hear. Even chairmen who were at first uncertain about the observation process soon realized that the observer could become the most inconspicuous member in the circle.

WHEN IS A SEMINAR EFFECTIVE?

Different criteria may figure in the evaluation of seminar effectiveness. It may be asked if the goals set for the meeting were reached, but each seminar has its own goals and these are not always comparable from one seminar to another. One important goal for a certain seminar may be achieved through the fact that the seminar was able to meet and certain people were brought together. The goals for the work of the seminar while in session and those that must be realized after the group disperses may differ. Whether or not these goals are attained depends in large measure on the effectiveness of the seminar process. Only the sponsor can determine whether or not the stated goals have been achieved, wholly or in part. Usually this is a long-term evaluation to which this study can contribute little.

Of necessity, therefore, this project had to be limited to an evaluation of the seminar process. Whatever its objective purposes, did the seminar develop into a homogeneous, face-to-face working group able to agree or disagree in an atmosphere of cordiality? Ideally these are the assets of the seminar—its ability to do high-level group work and its ability to function naturally in a democratic manner.

All eight observed seminars did develop into effective working groups, although some achieved the primary work-group character sooner than others. All were marked alternately by periods of tension and frustration and periods of smooth functioning. This

seems to be normal, but it seems that some of the seminars might have been better had there been less harmony and a little more personality clash. Some had perhaps too much tension, but in no case was any seminar "lost" because of these negative elements. The remaining pages will be devoted to some of the elements associated with effectiveness in the seminar process.

GETTING ACQUAINTED: THE "WARMING-UP PROCESS"

Apparently the seminar that is not able to get oriented the first day may have integration difficulties later. It may be said that time is not wasted if the first hour is given over to nothing else than a review, somewhat formal, of plans and purposes, and to using some easy device for making participants acquainted, such as getting each one to say a word or two. Initial tensions can sometimes be overcome by talking about the agenda, talking about the time schedule, and so on. Whatever is talked about during the "warm-up," its purpose must be twofold, to enable the participants as a group to visualize the work ahead and to get acquainted.

The warm-up must move naturally, and the degree to which it does reflects the skill of the chairman. In the international seminar even the experts may begin with feelings of strangeness, evidenced sometimes by aloofness or by overpoliteness. The task is to rid the group of its protocol manners. Informality is difficult for some to achieve, a fact that some Americans attending such seminars fail to understand.

THE LEVEL OF THE DISCUSSION

If, as is usually true, the seminar is a mixed group with respect to expertness, at what level should the discussion proceed? Just as there is no best way to begin a seminar, so there is no rule for setting the level for the discussion. In some of the better seminars, the method used was to begin with the general phases first. This makes the participation of the various members possible, whatever their degree of expertness. Also members may measure themselves against the others. By this general approach the seminar chairman is able to find the appropriate level of discussion.

Related to finding the level for the discussion is the need to find a way of guiding members who do not naturally and easily fit

into a niche within the group. These may be the least expert members at the one extreme or the most expert members at the other. Each member must find his place and not only feel satisfied in it, but he must enjoy the feeling that he is recognized and that he is participating. If direction is skillfully exercised, it is possible for the work to proceed even though there is a considerable gap between the least able and the most able of the members. This directing process is most effective if discreetly performed.

The matter of finding the appropriate level of discussion and of integrating the group into a functioning entity was not perfectly achieved in any of the seminars observed. It was observed, however, that when problems emerged some chairmen (or others connected with management) showed considerably more skill than others in resolving them.

WHAT IS SUFFICIENT PARTICIPATION?

Many of the books and articles on the subject insist that all members in a seminar should participate; in brief, each should do his measure of talking. Any attempt to bring this about in the international seminars on the observed list might have been disturbing. Extremes should be avoided, of course, but in general the nature of each seminar and the make-up of the group served to determine individual participation, and there seemed to be no relation between how much talking a member did and the degree of satisfaction he derived from the seminar. Frequently the seldom-speaking seminar member was occupied with learning, and he was usually active in conversation between sessions.

Even when the seminar situation took care of itself with respect to individual participation, it was noted in a few cases that some members talked too little and too seldom while others talked too long and too often. But it was also noted that in some of these cases the problems tended to be corrected somewhat by group consensus. This is another matter that reaches an extreme only when seminar management is not alert and skillful. In none of the seminars observed was there any problem due to difficult personalities, although it was apparent that under other circumstances certain participants might have become problems. That

they did not seems to confirm the thought that the management of the seminars was reasonably effective.

DIFFICULTIES DUE TO SEMINAR PLANNING

Perhaps half of the observed seminars suffered to some degree because of inadequate planning and preparation. Something was not done or it was done too late. Much of the fault concerned neglect or slowness on the part of participants. Many persons invited to seminars are indifferent letter writers. Preparations expected from them in advance were often not received until very late. This seems to be especially true of persons from Old World countries, especially professors.

Also there were faults on the part of sponsors, mainly with respect to making indefinite plans or not starting preparations early enough. Because so many participants are unbusinesslike, the sponsor needs to begin early and work hard. Reminder letters need to be dispatched. Some sponsors had not been prompt in getting information to participants about seminar purposes and arrangements. Many participants reported in their answers to the questionnaire that they had come to the seminar without being oriented in advance.

Questions about the seminar brought forth a wide variety of answers, most of them suggestions rather than criticisms. If there was criticism, it was usually aimed at the sponsor. There was no criticism of seminar colleagues who came unprepared or who had otherwise failed in doing the preparation asked of them. The only complaints involving colleagues concerned the presence at the seminar of nonexpert participants, which was also a criticism of the sponsor.

CHALLENGE OF THE CHAIRMANSHIP

As far as the observed seminars are concerned, it would not be unfair to say that not all of the sponsors seemed to be aware of the importance of the function of the chairman. Sometimes the task was assumed by a member of the sponsoring organization. Sometimes the chairman was named after the group met, and the honor was conferred upon one of the more distinguished partici-

pants. Another method was for the sponsor to remain in charge, while the chairmanship passed from member to member with each session. Any of these methods, including the method of electing the chairman, may be satisfactory provided the management always remains with the chairman. On the other hand, any of these methods may indicate an underestimation of the chairman's function.

In only two, perhaps three, of the observed seminars did the chairman play the role of a discussion leader in the more recent American use of the term. Rather it seems to be accepted all too often that seminar chairmanship is a function any member can perform provided he knows the conference languages. It is not recognized that the chairmanship of a seminar is in many respects more of a challenge than chairmanship of a large and formal meeting. It is not maintained that these seminars were ineffective because of the lack of training in group leadership on the part of certain chairmen, but it can be said that with better-qualified leaders these seminars might have been much more effective. While all the seminars completed their tasks, some of them, because of slow progress in the beginning and middle sessions, had to work overtime and under great pressure during the final sessions. Although this did not lead to ill feeling, it was clearly evident that more efficient guidance might have averted this pressure.

Assuming that the chairman is highly qualified for the task, he should also be informed about the preparations and seminar plans. He should know in advance about pertinent facts leading to the meeting, and he should have advance information about the personalities asked to joint the group. This was not true for most of the seminars observed. The chairmen were no better oriented in taking over seminar leadership than were other seminar members.

THE SEMINARS AND THE PROJECT

This study revealed that the small international seminar is coming into wider use, but it also revealed that most international organizations have yet to learn how to make the best use of it. There is a widespread unwillingness on the part of most international organizations to have their seminars studied, and this unwillingness is often mixed with suspicion when study proposals are made

by outside organizations. It can also be said regarding the efforts of the project staff that its hundreds of letters to seminar sponsors and its many conversations with them turned out to be a type of missionary work. After some months of correspondence with the project staff, one world organization (professing great interest but not giving permission to have its seminars observed) finally announced that it was planning a similar study of its own.

Again it must be said that the observed seminars, without exception, achieved a reasonable measure of effectiveness in spite of many shortcomings in preparation, leadership, and follow-up. This must be credited largely to the high quality and the serious purposes of the majority of participants. One can also be optimistic about the shortcomings. In one way or other sponsors and chairmen come to be aware of them. Favorable or unfavorable reactions and reports regarding the seminar of one organization come to the attention of other organizations. The never-overt rivalry between these international bodies thus holds much promise with respect to the techniques of seminar planning and management.

Finally, the major shortcomings of our own research should be mentioned. First is the fact that the project had to operate on the defensive throughout. Seminar observers were continually in the role of salesmen introducing a new product, and to some extent this was disturbing. Next, the observer was usually projected into the middle of the seminar process. In most cases he entered the seminar as a tolerated guest, knowing very little if anything about the seminar's theme, its goals, its advance preparations, and the personalities in the group. He had to be discreet about asking questions, at least until rapport had been established. In some cases the seminar was about half over before he became oriented. The kind of rapport that usually prevailed by the close of the seminar should have been established before it began. Subsequent research projects should include seminars as wholes. Data gathering should begin in the planning and preparation phase, and it should continue through the follow-up phase, with continuous co-operation between the sponsor and the project. In other words, the evaluation of the seminar should not be limited to relatively brief observation during the meeting but should include a period of fact gathering of a year or so for each seminar. Perhaps such a

project should limit its activities to the seminars of one world organization only, unless it is possible to include two or more of such organizations in the study.

CONCLUSIONS

The writers had the task of evaluating several small international seminars of experts, a type of conference that is increasingly used by international organizations because it gets work done and produces the most results for the money expended. Although the project was largely an exploratory one, it turned out to be productive in unexpected ways. It demonstrated, for example, the sensitivity of international organizations to attempts by another international group to evaluate their work, in this case their seminars.

Whereas the seminars studied were carried out effectively according to the general criterion of effectiveness used in the study, there was a considerable lack of appreciation, as well as of understanding, of the more advanced techniques of small-group organization and leadership. It must also be recognized that the administration of an international seminar raises problems which are not present in seminars at the national level. Not only is language difference a challenge, but various interpersonal difficulties may stem from both language and national differences.

Administration and the Consumer*

THE ideal of service to the public prevails in our society; it is derived in the main from the ideal of the maximum happiness of the greatest number. By definition, public services are assumed to have been established in order to supply services to the public. The private economy is seen as geared to the needs and wishes of the consumer. This ideology reflects a traditional classical theory of economics which holds that only an enterprise which serves the consumer can survive and that the consumer controls the production and the distribution of goods and services through his purchasing power.[1] But it leaves unanswered the empirical question of the degree to which public and private economic resources are actually tuned to public needs and of the ways in which these needs are effectively expressed. The following remarks raise some hypotheses about the lines of communication between producer and consumer, and about the means of influence that the consumer actually has at his disposal. It is suggested that in some sectors of the economy the consumer's influence is rather limited.

SEPARATION OF CONSUMPTION FROM CONTROL

Modern society is characterized by a highly advanced division of labor and by bureaucratization. Fused elements become separated and

*I am grateful to Arthur Stinchcombe for a very suggestive discussion of various parts of this analysis.

[1]On the ideology of consumer sovereignty, power, autonomy, and the concept of business as serving the public, see F. X. Sutton, S. E. Harris, C. Kaysen, and J. Tobin, *The American Business Creed* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 138–160; on the classical economics and business ideology and on the consumer as a voter who directs business, see Alexander R. Heron, *No Sale, No Job* (New York, 1954), pp. 34–36.

function independently. Each differentiation raises the question: What are the relations among the separated elements.[2] One of the best-known studies of such a process is that of Berle and Means on the separation of control from ownership.[3] Berle and Means demonstrate that when an economic enterprise becomes incorporated and bureaucratized, the control over the enterprise becomes separated from the right to its profits. Both elements had been integrated in the concepts of private property and enterpreneurship. Their separation raises the problem of the relationship between the two elements, the one invested in the roles of managers and the other in the roles of stockholders.

Specialization and bureaucratization have caused another bifurcation. The customer's role, considered as one element in the ideology discussed above and in the classical model of economics, has been divided into two: *consumption* in the sense of receiving services and goods for the satisfaction of one's needs and *controls* over the distribution of resources in accordance with one's needs.[4] While consumption has been retained by the consumer (like dividends by the shareholder), control has been, to some degree, retracted from the consumer and invested in other roles (like control over production in Berle and Means's analysis).

We suggest that this is a general tendency, although it varies considerably in different sectors of the economy. In subsequent pages the diverse forms and varying degrees of this process will be discussed. Our suggestions should be regarded as tentative hypotheses for further research. The information available is far too scanty to make any conclusive representation possible.[5]

[2]That role differentiation is one of the major processes of change and modernization is suggested by T. Parsons and N. J. Smelser in *Economy and Society* (Glencoe, Ill., 1956).

[3]A. A. Berle and G. C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York, 1933).

[4]Note that H. A. Simon takes a different standpoint. He identifies the customer with those who are in control and not with those who consume the product in cases where there is a separation. Thus he sees in the legislative body the customer of the governmental agency. See Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, 2d ed. (New York, 1957), p. 120; see also the definition of clientele in Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithburg, Victor A. Thompson, *Public Administration* (New York, 1956), pp. 461–464.

[5]The relationship between bureaucracies in general and public administration in particular to their clients is not very often studied. Textbooks and journals of administration tend to pay much more attention to the efficiency of administrative processes than to the gearing of these processes to the objectives of those they serve. This seems to be a specific case of the phenomenon referred to by Max Weber as "the irrational rationality."

The various economic sectors may be arranged on a continuum according to the degree of separation between consumption and control. The smallest degree of control by consumers will be found in public monopolies (e.g., the post office); next are public services such as public schools, universities, hospitals, health services, and social welfare; then come private monopolies, duopolies, and oligopolies; relatively high consumer control will be found in the economy of small business.

One major mode in which the process of separation is revealed is the separation of consumption from direct financing, common to all public services. The agencies producing and supplying public services do not depend on consumers' fees in any manner similar to that conceived by the classic model of economics and by the above ideology. In many cases the fee charged is a small proportion of the actual price of the service, as for example tuition fees in many universities or charges of public hospitals. Services are financed through taxation or private endowments.

Sometimes taxation is considered to be an indirect form of consumers' fee. But this *indirect* way of financing (as compared to direct financing through purchasing) implies that control is at least partially invested in those who recruit the financial means from the public and allocate them to the producers of the service. This is even more true in the case of private endowments, in which reports to the contributors concerning the utilization of funds are generally less frequent and extensive than they are in the case of taxation.

The term public suggests the image of one and the same public, consuming services for which it has paid through taxation and endowments, whereas it is well known that there is no one public but many publics, and the financing public is often only partially overlapping with the public consuming that particular service and vice versa. Although there is considerable variation, in general the participation in consumption of public services by a given segment of the public is *inversely* related to its participation in financing. Higher strata pay more taxes but benefit less from public services than lower strata.

It is also of significance that tax payments are involuntary and cannot be withheld when services are unsatisfactory and that endowments are generally induced by motives other than the satisfaction expected of the respective services. Thus financing public services, one source of control, is at least partially separated from consumption of these services.

Separating financing from consumption is only one way of separating control from consumption. Another way is public and private monop-

olization.[6] The post office, for instance, charges fees which *in toto* tend to cover the expenses of the service supplied, but this does not mean that the post-office administration is dependent on the consumer more than the university is dependent on the student or the state hospital on the patient. There is no satisfactory substitute (in the same category of price and convenience) for the services of the post office. Consequently the consumer has little direct control over the service. This seems to hold for public services in general.[7]

The separation of consumption from control is not a problem of public administration or of public services and monopolies only, but one of bureaucratization in general. It applies to the private economy as well, although in varying degrees. The problem of exploitation of consumers by private monopolies is only too well known. A similar relative indifference to the needs of consumers, which arises in duopolies and oligopolies, especially when price leadership and similar processes operate, has also been discussed.[8] To these, corporations which produce mainly for one big consumer, often the armed forces, should be added. These corporations are relatively indifferent to the mass of small individual consumers; so are large corporations in general.[9] But even small competitive firms do not allocate their resources solely according to the dollar votes of consumers. In addition to consumers, they have to satisfy government regulations, taxation, trade unions, shareholders, and financiers, to mention only a few. Thus they have to allocate their resources according to the relative pressures exerted by these various forces.

The consumer is therefore only one source of pressure among many, and certainly not the most organized and powerful one. The assumption that what maximizes the consumer's satisfaction is also best for all the others concerned, as the classical model of economics claimed and

[6]For a recent discussion on monopolies, see E. S. Mason, Various Views on the Monopoly Problem, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 31 (May 1949), 104–123; E. H. Chamberlin, Some Final Comments, *ibid.*, 123–129.

[7]E. P. Herring, *Public Administration and the Public Interest* (New York, 1936), pp. 226–257.

[8]On oligopolies, price leadership, and other ways of determing prices, see Bernard F. Haley, "Value and Distribution," in Howard S. Ellis, ed., *A Survey of Contemporary Economics* (Homewood, Ill., 1949), I, 1–48, esp. 11–13.

[9]"Large firms producing finished consumers' goods are not ordinarily subject to serious *direct* pressure from this group—either from middlemen or ultimate consumers" (R. A. Gordon, *Business Leadership in the Large Corporation* [Washington, D.C., 1945], pp. 253–254). "The reasons U.S. auto sales have levelled off for the past few years, said Rommey—with a bow to his hot-selling little Rambler—is that the automobile industry as a whole has ignored fundamental changes occurring in automobile use and demand" (*Time*, Dec. 23, 1957, p. 64).

as some people still believe, it as often wrong as it is right. For instance, higher wages for workers mean more expensive goods for the consumers. Less profit for the producer may mean better or cheaper products for the consumer. The distinction among consumers, producers, savers, and the like, is an analytical one and resembles the distinction sociologists make among different roles of the same person. But the fact that many persons are both producers and consumers does not mean that there can be no economic act which is advantageous for the one and unfavorable to the other. In the first place, some people, such as children and the aged, are consumers only. In the second place, most economic acts are advantageous for the producers of some goods or services and disadvantageous for the consumers of these or some other products, and these two groups of people are, in most cases, not identical.

The consumer's direct control is largest in retail stores, small business, and small services (such as barbers), where commissions and tips play a role. These are also the economic units in which separation of ownership and management is the least pronounced, i.e., the economic units in which the processes of bureaucratization and differentiation are least developed.

The professionals are difficult to place in this continuum.[10] Their services, especially when organized in any administrative form, are separate from the fee charged and therefore from direct pressure by the client. Here separation between consumption and control is supported by a strong ideology, sometimes taken over by other branches of bureaucratized society, namely by the principle that those who administer the service are in a better position to judge what is good for the consumer than he is himself; hence separation of control from consumption is the best way to maximize the happiness of the greatest number. We now turn to an examination of this argument.

THE FUNCTIONS OF CONSUMPTION-CONTROL SEPARATION

The separation of consumption from control has important functions that few would agree to abolish. In many areas consumers are incapable of judging what is best for them. Separation of consumption from control opens the possibility for control to be exercised by an authority that is better able to satisfy the consumer's needs. The incapacity of the consumer has various sources. Sometimes it is due to his

[10]See T. H. Marshall, The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Structure and Social Policy, *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 5 (Aug. 1939), 325–340.

relative ignorance, as in the case of patient and physician; in other instances it is a question of the need for institutionalized means of enforcing social mores, as in the case of the university which determines the standards of qualifying examinations in English for engineering students; in still other cases it is a question of long-run versus short-run interests of the consumer; like the shareholder, the consumer is often on the side of the short-run interests, while those in control of production are often aware of the necessity not to subordinate all the available resources to higher dividends or better and cheaper products but to allocate a certain proportion to reinvestment and innovation.[11] The consumer cannot be relied upon to look after these economic needs, although in the long run he may benefit from doing so.

The separation of consumption from control is also a necessary condition for much of what is called social justice. Through progressive taxation and administrative measures it becomes possible for the public to influence the allocation of the national income. So it becomes clear that the separation of control from consumption has many functions.

This brings up the question: Should this process be encouraged or minimized? This is a question of the relative realization of values which are only partially consistent. If in view of his superior knowledge the administrator or the expert takes control, the consumer's freedom of choice is restricted in the name of other values such as health, education, or increased possibilities of choice in the future.[12] The question of the extent to which this freedom of choice should be sacrificed for other values is a value judgment that cannot be discussed here. But it seems relevant to point out that freedom of choice is often sacrificed without any real gain in terms of other values. Once control is withdrawn from the consumer, there arises a tendency on the part of the administration to expand the area of its control for illegitimate reasons such as the power drive of some bureaucrats and the ease of handling controlled clients as compared to clients with a relatively large freedom of choice.[13]

[11]This point was made by J. A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democrary*, rev. ed. (New York, 1947).

[12]On the problem of relations among values and economic decisions, see Abram Bergson, "Socialist Economics," in Ellis, ed., *op. cit.*, I, 412–448, esp. 413–420. Cf. Kenneth E. Boulding, "Welfare Economics," in Bernard F. Haley, ed., *ibid.*, II, 1–34, and Melvin W. Reder, "Comments," *ibid.*, pp. 34–38.

[13]Usually consumers' control is a "precarious" value, but in some cases overpressure of the consumers endangers the legitimate functions of the organization. See Burton R. Clark, Organizational Adaptation and Precarious Values, *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June 1956), 327–336.

Thus, for example, one may support or oppose hospital uniforms for patients when the issue of disinfection is involved, but there can be little justification for limiting the choice of clothes in homes for the aged. In school, children have to be controlled for their own good. But when these attitudes and techniques are extended to PTA meetings, they become illegitimate.

We can now ask: What mechanisms limit the separation of consumption and control and confine control within its functional and legitimate boundaries?

THE PROBLEM OF RELATING CONSUMPTION TO CONTROL

The process of bureaucratization differentiates elements which previously were fused. This raises the problem of re-establishing a relationship between these elements. This is not likely to be done by reinvesting full control in the consumer (i.e., reintegrating the elements), as this would undermine the values discussed above. Rather the function has to be fulfilled by institutionalized bridges: the elements remain separated but not unrelated. The consumers do not exercise full control, but they exert influence on those in control. The mechanisms through which the consumers' wishes are communicated and through which they exert pressure on those in control have to a large degree still to be explored. Some hypotheses concerning the nature and functioning of these mechanisms will now be spelled out.

Communication Bridges

One interesting problem is the degree of effectiveness of communication lines between the clients and producers, especially in public services, large corporations, and other highly bureaucratized enterprises.[14] We suggest that in many cases few lines of institutionalized communication exist. How much communication flows from the clients of the post office to the postmaster? How many communicative contacts of patients with top hospital administrators are more than accidental or formalistic?

A second question is: When communication does exist, how representative is it of the clients' actual feelings and needs? We suggest that often it is highly unrepresentative. Extreme cases are morning radio programs intended for housewives, which broadcast songs selected according to statistics of popularity based on the number of coins

[14]For an interesting study of this kind, see Morris Janowitz and William Delany, "The Bureaucrat and the Public: A Study of Informational Perspectives," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2 (Sept. 1957), 141–162.

inserted into juke boxes by teenagers. Relatively more significant cases are the indexes which make and break television programs yet in most cases are known to be unreliable and unrepresentative. Apparently many of the market research programs, extremely few of which are conducted by public suppliers of services, are unsatisfactory from a professional point of view. The "letter to the editor," "suggestion box," and other channels of complaints also seem highly unrepresentative. In very few organizations does informal communication concerning consumers' needs reach the higher levels of the organization and get transmitted to those who could act upon it. One of the important reasons for this seems to be an institutionalized insensitivity to the consumer, which will be discussed below.

The relation between consumer and supplier of goods and services may be further analyzed with regard to the communicative influence and skill of the various types of consumers. Some consumers are more communicative than others (e.g., journalists) and, therefore, frequently receive better services. Exploration of the mechanisms involved here may demonstrate the significance of nets of communication for the problem at hand. Journalists, like other communication stars, cause a short cut in the communication system by communicating the consumer's needs to top management directly. In this way top management is often informed of issues which would not have reached it through the regular channels of communication. There seem to be other, more institutionalized, short cuts as well; for instance, surprise control checks, interviews of customers by high-ranking managers, and planted "shoppers."[15] When these mechanisms are studied, their relative merits have to be compared not only from the point of view of their communicative virtues but also from the point of view of their effectiveness in exerting pressure, since communications alone might prove ineffective. From this standpoint there appears to be little substitution for an aggressive press, although the latter's potential threat often suffices to make other channels of communication effective. To what extent the press and other mass media are free to criticize major services and producers who have large advertising accounts or political ties has so far been a matter of much gossip but little study.

Institutionalized Attitudes to Consumers

The idea of service to the consumer implies that those who serve him will accept the idea, be rewarded for behavior conforming to its standards, and be deprived for deviating from it. It would be of much

[15]On customers' complaints and "service shopping" as a means of evaluating employees, see O. P. Robinson, *Retail Personnel Relations* (New York, 1940), pp. 340–345.

interest to study if and how the service idea can be institutionalized. We would suggest that some basic features of administrative structures make this norm difficult to reinforce. Some characteristics of these structures even activate counterforces which make for institutionalized insensitivity to the consumer.

We suggest that many lower-level clerks and sales workers who come into contact with customers are organization-oriented and not customer-oriented. A study of retail grocery workers reports that when asked about the "most important single factor in present job," 22 per cent mentioned "like associates"; 22 per cent supervision; 29 per cent future advancement; 5 per cent contact with customers.[16] Thus it appears that co-workers and supervisors with whom clerks and sale workers interact intimately (as compared to the relatively impersonal contact with customers) are often the "significant others" toward whom they are sensitized. This would be of little consequence if promotion, supervisors' approval, and co-workers' attitudes were geared to service orientation toward customers. The degree to which this is really so must still be explored, and the conditions that support versus those that suppress a customer orientation must be spelled out. It seems that promotion and other supervisory sanctions depend partly on other factors (e.g., obedience), while co-workers' attitudes are more influenced by other values such as friendliness and loyalty.

Sensitivity to the client may often be disadvantageous for the organization man.[17] If, in an extraordinary case, he sticks to the organization's norms, he usually fares better than if he tries to bend the norms of the organization to the client's needs or if he bothers his boss with the case.[18] Furthermore, contact with clients is usually relatively concentrated on the lower levels of the organization; those who are successful in their relations with clients may find it more difficult to attain promotion than those who prefer to prepare themselves for the next, less-client-oriented stage. To sum up: To be client-oriented and to transmit clients' demands upward seems to be relatively unrewarding in many organizations.

Sensitivity to the client seems to be greater in cases in which the relationship is preponderantly composed of primary elements where the client is significant as an agent of rewards and deprivations. The

[16]Mason Haire and Josephine S. Gottsdanker, Factors Influencing Industrial Morale, *Personnel*, 27 (May 1951), 445–454, esp. 447.

[17]"Unfortunately management has paid little attention to consumption studies up to now" (Irwin Friend and Irving B. Kravis, New Light on the Consumer Market, *Harvard Business Review*, 35 [Jan.-Feb. 1957], 105).

[18]On this problem, see R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), pp. 157–158.

relationship between clerk and client in the post office is very secondary. But the relationship between a tailor and a permanent customer is relatively much more primary. Restaurants, for instance, may be fruitfully classified according to the clientele to which they cater; they range all the way from railway-station restaurants, which often are quite indifferent to transitory customers, to exclusive restaurants, which cater to a selected group of regular clients.[19]

From the point of view of primary versus secondary elements the relationship may be asymetrical as between professionals and their clients.[20] This means that tension is built into the structure of the situation, since the client expects the relation to be more primary than the professional is able or willing to grant. Another variation on the same line of the primary-secondary continuum is the pseudo-primary relationship created by salesmen. This is an attempt on the part of the supplier of goods to manipulate the consumer by simulating a primary relationship, i.e., creating the impression that the relationship is symetric, based on mutual responsibility (on mutual control) while actually the relationship is asymetrical (controlled by one side). These are only a few examples of an area that has still to be explored.[21]

Co-optation and Communication

Organizations which are committed to the ideology of service and are aware of the problems of communication with consumers, especially when they wish to communicate a message to the consumers because they need their co-operation, sometimes apply a method known as co-optation.[22] Customers' representatives are sometimes requested to participate in the decision-making process. In certain cities in Belgium, for example, the customers elect a representative to participate in a transportation council that regulates public transportation.[23]

It would be a significant empirical problem to spell out the condi-

[19]See W. F. Whyte, *Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry* (New York, 1948).

[20]See T. Parsons, *The Social System* (London, 1952), pp. 429–455.

[21]It is known that both political decisions of the citizen and economic decisions of the consumer are influenced by opinion leaders. It would be interesting to study the relations between political and economic opinion leaders. Some insights into the problem can be gained from Bernard Berelson, *The Library's Public* (New York, 1949), pp. 115–122. See also A. Campbell and C. A. Metzner, *Public Use of the Library*, rev. ed. (Ann Arbor, 1952), and Oliver Carceau, *The Public Library in the Political Process* (New York, 1949), pp. 111–151; on consumers and opinion leaders, see Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955).

[22]Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (Berkeley, 1949), pp. 250–264.

[23]On consumer councils, see C. A. R. Crosland, *The Future of Socialism* (London, 1956), p. 470.

tions under which co-optation is real and the conditions under which it is fictitious. It seems that co-optation is more often applied in communications from those in control to the clients than the other way around. Co-optation is often used in order to create a semblance of communication from clients to those in control without effective communication really existing. Thus, although co-optation is theoretically a mechanism of consumers' influence, it is frequently not applied so as to realize its potentials. When co-optation is manipulated or fictitious, not only does it not fulfill the function of co-optating the consumer, but it blocks the expression of his needs. Simulated co-optation suggests that the communication problem has been solved, whereas actually it only conceals the need for real communication and influence.[24]

Molding the Consumer's Desires

The problem of the gap in communication between the consumer and those who control his consumption is sometimes partially "solved" by molding the consumer's desires. While basic needs are difficult to mold, the manner in which they are satisfied seems to be quite open to manipulation. Furthermore, additional needs can be created simultaneously with the means of satisfying them.[25] Thus to the extent that the supplier of goods and services is able to create satisfaction, there is little need for communication from the consumer to the controller.[26] This, of course, is a complete reversal of the process as depicted by the ideology according to which the consumer's choice determines the allocation of resources. But so far the methods of persuasion have been only partially successful; therefore our basic problem of bridging the elements separated by bureaucratization still exists.

The Countervailing Power of the Consumer

The mechanisms discussed up to this point are mainly mechanisms of communication which transmit or fail to transmit the required information concerning consumers' wishes. But communication may be ineffective unless reinforced by power. Therefore it is necessary to analyze the sources and channels of the consumers' power to counter-

[24]Amitai Etzioni, The Organizational Structure of "Closed" Educational Institutions in Israel, *Harvard Educational Review*, 27 (spring 1957), 107–125, esp. 112–115.

[25]For an excellent case study, see R. K. Merton, *Mass Persuasion* (New York, 1946); for a more popular discussion, see Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York, 1957).

[26]See Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action," in Lyman Bryson, ed., *The Communication of Ideas* (New York, 1948), pp. 95–118.

vail other pressures on those in control.[27] There are two main types of such power: economic and political.

a) The *economic countervailing power* of the consumer is different in different parts of the economy. Following the continuum presented above, we might say that it is large for retail shops and small-scale private services, smaller for large, bureaucratized enterprises, especially those depending only partially on the mass of individual consumers, and even smaller for the rest of the economy, including organized professionals and private and public administration.

Countervailing power as discussed above referred to the unorganized, random activity of the mass of small individual consumers. Sometimes the term is applied to the organized activity of consumers. Although such activity takes place in some extreme cases of exploitation, it is a very rare phenomenon.[28] Most consumers have only a segmentary, limited interest in most products. They are unwilling to devote energy, time, and money to the aim of organizing a consumers' strike. In most cases, only if the service or product is invested with a broad and symbolic meaning is such a strike successfully organized, as in the boycott of the bus services in Montgomery, Alabama.

The assumption that certain economic organizations such as department stores, for instance, act as natural consumer's agents, since they attempt to countervail the economic power of producers, seems open to serious question.[29] Generally the gains which these organizations achieve by exerting pressure on producers are self-oriented. The consumer may or may not benefit from the power struggle between producer and distributor, but the latter cannot be considered as his representative. Besides, a coalition of producers and distributors may be as likely as a collision. Subordination of one party to the other (as in the gasoline and automobile industries) is also fairly common. In these cases an understanding between these powerful partners often seems to occur at the expense of the consumer. Thus the consumer seems to be the one taken advantage of rather than the one served by the economy. If he is in possession of any significant, organized, countervailing power, it is in most cases not economic but political.

[27]For a discussion of nonmarket controls, see National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy* (Washington, D.C., 1939), pp. 153–170, reprinted in R. Bendix and S. W. Lipset, *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.), pp. 129–154.

[28]On the relatively-little-organized consumers' interest group, see National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Merle Fainsod, "Some Reflections on the Nature of the Regulatory Process," in C. J. Friedrich and E. S. Mason, eds., *Public Policy* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 308.

[29]Compare J. K. Galbraith, *American Capitalism*, rev. ed. (Boston, 1956).

b) The *political countervailing power* of the consumer is his ability to exert pressure on political authorities to intervene in economic processes in such a way as will be advantageous to him. Although he has limited influence on those who serve him or on those who are in direct control over those who serve him, he has, under certain conditions, some influence on those who direct or who manage and control the supply of goods and services. Many price regulations, safety standards, health standards, advertising laws, and the like are created by politicians in order to satisfy voting consumers.[30] These controls are relatively indirect and regulative in private industry but considerably stronger generally (although not necessarily strong enough) in cases in which an industry is more monopolized, i.e., when it is less under client control. These controls are more direct and prescriptive when it comes to public administration. But their relative effectiveness has, to a large degree, still to be examined.

Political mechanisms may be relatively effective, but their influence in democratic societies is limited since interference with economic processes in general is limited. But even in sectors which are under public control, this bridge is only partial because the mechanisms of communication between voters and politicians have all the deficiencies shown to be characteristic of the mechanisms of communication between consumers and those in direct control over the supply of goods and services. Take as an example the independent regulatory commissions which ideally represent the consuming public vis-à-vis various monopolies and other large-scale economic organizations.[31] It is highly revealing to compare the National Labor Relations Board, which acts as a mediator between the organized camps of labor and management, to these commissions, which stand between large corporations on one hand and an unorganized public on the other.

In order to reach a better understanding of these mechanisms, it is necessary to specify for each major good or service the consuming public, the voting public, the financing sources, the producers, and the distributors of the respective goods and services and to study the relations among them. Of special interest here is the relation between consumers and voters. The assumption that these two groups are identical is oversimplified. Some consumers do not vote because they are

[30]See J. M. Clark, "American Changing Capitalism: The Interplay of Politics and Economics," in M. Berger, T. Abel, and C. H. Page, eds., *Freedom and Control in Modern Society* (Toronto, 1954), pp. 192–205.

[31]See Robert E. Cushman, *The Independent Regulatory Commissions* (New York, 1941); see also Robert Bendiner, The FCC—Who Will Regulate the Regulators, *Reporter*, Sept. 19, 1957, pp. 26–30, and M. Fainsod, *op. cit.*, pp. 297–323.

too young. Others constitute an insignificant voting group because their right to vote is not observed or not activated, because the group of consumers of the specific product is small if compared to the voting public, or because groups which exert counterpressure are much stronger. Much of what has been said above concerning the need to study various groups of consumers according to their communication abilities also holds for the study of their political countervailing power. There is no one undifferentiated public. Some groups of consumers have much more political power than others. Students, for instance, are much more politically articulate than most clients of the social welfare services. These differentiations and their significance have been relatively unexplored. Finally, political loyalty and voting in particular are in most cases dependent on issues other than direct issues of consumption.[32] In short, the relationship between consumption and political behavior is far from being simple and requires much more research before its significance for the problem at hand can be fairly assessed.

To sum up: For the purpose of studying the consumer's relation to control, the traditional organizational chart has to be expanded in two directions: (a) the differentiation of consumer publics and their various contacts, lines of communication, and ways of exerting pressure has to be incorporated on the one end; and (b) the various "political" organs which control public administration and regulate some private economic activities have to be brought into the frame on the other end and the relationship between the consumer and these political authorities has to be analyzed. It is believed that if this is done systematically for several types of consumers and organizations a clearer understanding will be achieved, not only of the organizations themselves, but also of whom they really serve, why, and under what conditions.

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[32]One exception may be the antitariff candidates. Even these seem to have been more labor-oriented and labor-supported than simply consumer-oriented. The study of the relation between the political activities of labor and consumers' interests and representation are of special interest. The interests of the two groups may often coincide (e.g., anti-tariff legislation) but may also differ (e.g., anti-immigration laws and inflationary wage increases). Further study of the problem necessitates differentiating the various labor groups and the various consumer groups and studying their interrelations. When this is done, we hypothesize, labor will be seen as a political group more often representing consumer interests than many other groups but far from being an adequate and reliable form of consumer representation.

Book Reviews

The Administrative State. By Fritz Morstein Marx, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957. 187 pp. $4.00.

In recent years the gap has steadily widened between the growing need for a higher-caliber bureaucracy and the declining attractiveness of such a career to our ablest young people. At the same time our national well-being has become increasingly linked with intelligent and effective government action. The demand curve has ascended sharply; the high-quality supply curve has slumped. This poses one of the crucial issues of our time. The issue is not likely to be resolved without radical shifts in the value system of American society, including marked changes in the role and status of our public-service bureaucracy.

In *The Administrative State* Fritz Marx has provided us with many thoughtful insights that bear upon this issue. He draws heavily upon German and British experience—to a lesser degree upon French and Japanese. While this compact book sets forth a concise and interpretive introduction to comparative bureaucracy, the central focus, however, is upon the federal bureaucracy at top levels—the unofficial higher civil service in the United States. The author joins in the swelling chorus of those who are critical of obsessive concern with conformity and economic security, of the accrual of rewards through persistent service rather than conspicuous achievement, of the group processes, of large-scale organizations that "force man's efforts into grooves, deny him the taking of chances the institution will not allow, and sap his initiative by pinning him down to compromises with those who look over his shoulder."

Unfortunately the federal bureaucracy is viewed as a single entity. In reality it is composed of dozens of splinter bureaucracies, each

charged with unique loyalties and exposed to widely varying experiences.

The treatment of bureaucracy as a *ding an sich* fails to take account of the vital role of organizational and institutional structures in shaping perceptions and loyalties. The bureaucrat's conception of the public interest is strongly influenced by organizational and institutional value systems. It seems to me that this fact of institutional life limits the utility of the "general interest" criterion which the author proposes as a guide to the perplexed decision maker.

It is the bureaucrat's task at each level within each agency to think, not in terms of the general interest, but of the special interest which constitutes the mission of his organization. To paraphrase Paul Appleby's words of wisdom, "He should operate at his own level." All organizations—governments, corporations, universities—balance conflicting interests at the apex of the pyramid to arrive at the general interest. As Arthur Bentley observed a half-century ago, this necessarily means that most members of the bureaucracy must serve special interests. Only a handful in the upper reaches of the Executive Office are permitted the luxury of contemplating the general interest.

Inevitably, an "ideal-type" bureaucrat emerges. Although it is not clear how he would be educated or selected, his actions should be governed by "self-dedication," "personal responsibility lodged in the civil servant's individual conscience," and "the general interest, constitutional spirit, and the moral principle." Certainly these are noble attributes. Self-dedication in particular has greatest meaning for a small, select group unified through shared values and experience. Can it be achieved so long as public service is viewed as a job opportunity, not as a professional career? Can it be achieved short of the recruitment and development of an elite group akin to the administrative class in Britain?

Marx's position on this latter question is somewhat confusing. He suggests that a "guardian-type" bureaucracy is less well adapted than a "merit" bureaucracy to meet the needs imposed by alternation of political control between parties. This, as many will recall, was the prophecy of Kingsley and Laski in the early forties prior to the assumption of power by the Labour Party. Experience since 1945, however, has amply demonstrated the adaptability of the administrative class.

As evidence of the adaptability of a "merit" bureaucracy, the author cites the relative stability of the Bureau of the Budget during the transfer of power from the Truman to the Eisenhower administration.

This experience was not shared by top civil servants in most program agencies. Policy neutralists survived, while vulnerability and inability to adapt stemmed directly from intellectual commitment to program goals. One may question whether the public interest is well served by the high price of adaptability demanded by a "merit" bureaucracy.

On balance, the author has provided us with a valuable addition to the growing body of literature on bureaucracy. The thoughtful and scholarly analysis is also spiced nicely with tongue-in-cheek wit when the author pokes fun at bureaucratic frailties and playfully tilts with matters such as automation and civil defense to the point of *reductio ad absurdum.*

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Authority. Ed. by Carl J. Friedrich. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. 234 pp. $5.00.

This volume was edited for the American Society of Political and Legal Philosophy by Professor Friedrich. It contains thirteen essays, by the following authors: Charles W. Hendel, Carl J. Friedrich, Herbert Spiro, Jerome Hall, Frank K. Knight, Hannah Arendt, Norman Jacobson, George E. Gordon Catlin, Bertrand de Jouvenel, David Easton, Talcott Parsons, and E. Adamson Hoebel. The range of authors, in terms of fields of specialization and of national background, speaks for itself.

The volume is the first in what is projected as an annual publication of the sponsoring society and is designated NOMOS I. There are three parts: "Authority in General," "Authority in Historical Perspective," and "Authority in Socio-political Perspective"—though many of the essays could be shifted to another part without serious violation of logic.

Though the sponsoring society is one of "philosophy," none of the essays is philosophical in the sense that it pleads the case for the legitimacy of some particular type or degree of authority. Rather the essays are descriptive and analytical. Obviously the various authors have preferences, but these are indicated by choice of subject, tone of treatment, choice of words. There is little epistemology, considerable ety-

mology. Certainly the work is one in social science, and by customary criteria a good one. The level of scholarship and presentation is high.

On the other hand, the work is probably of marginal interest to most readers of this *Quarterly*. No essay dealing specifically with authority in an administrative context is included in the volume. Although the tone is descriptive and analytical, not philosophical or ideological, the propositions set forth are for the most part too general to serve as the basis for experimental research, or beyond rigorous investigation because of passage of time or absence of data, or simply outside the customary or necessary area of interest of students of administration. It would be difficult to find a significant proposition that is not contradicted elsewhere in the book, with as much and as little evidence. Although one would certainly read through the volume carefully for hypotheses and insights before setting out to do serious research on the phenomena connected with authority in administration, he will find there no research designs easily adapted to his purpose.

The essays of greatest interest to students of administration may be found in Part III, "Authority in Socio-political Perspective." The sharp definition and careful logic of De Jouvenel will be particularly palatable to most readers of the *Quarterly*. Easton's piece contains both a hypothesis and a research design, but while applicable to administrative situations as well as "political" (in which terms it is stated), the research design is set forth only in very general language. Whether or not Parsons' piece is read may depend upon one's familiarity with Parsons: if he has read a great deal of Parsons, he can skip it. Otherwise it is worth the sweat. The final piece by Hoebel, the anthropological view, is in some ways very slight. Still, it is also very stimulating and evokes an uneasy feeling that both traditional philosophical, descriptive, and analytical social science and the newer behavioral studies may be disregarding highly relevant data when they address themselves to such phenomena as authority.

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The Japanese Factory: Aspects of Its Social Organization. By James G. Abegglen. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press (for the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology), 1958. 142 pp.

This slender volume is a major contribution to our understanding of the social organization of the Japanese factory, of the more fundamental issue of the relationship between the process of industrialization in modern Japan and the traditional patterns of Japanese society, and of the still broader issue of industrialization in contemporary nonindustrialized societies. It is a major study because it is exceedingly rich in fresh information, sound insights, and stimulating analysis. It does not provide—for it was not the intent of the author to do so—either an exhaustive picture of the Japanese factory or the definitive answer to the problems of industrialization in non-Western societies, yet it brings us closer to both.

Abegglen's data were gathered through observation of 19 large factories (employing from 2,000 to 8,000 workers) and 34 small factories (employing up to 200, but for the most part employing between 8 and 20). He states that these do not represent "a systematic selection of units" but expresses confidence that they "represent the clear central style of organization in large Japanese industry." Thus the "Japanese factory" of the title is neither a single and separate unit nor a construct representing the entire system; yet so methodical and careful was the author's collection of information, so judicious his presentation, and so soundly based his conclusions that the reader ends with the feeling that he has been given a clear account of the Japanese factory in both its particular and universal aspects.

The chapter titles, listed in order, provide a good summary of the contents of this book: "Industry in Asia: The Case of Japan," "The Critical Difference: A Lifetime Commitment," "The Recruitment of Personnel," "Rewards and Incentives in the Japanese Factory," "Ranks, Careers, and the Formal Organization," "The Factory's Place in the Employee's World," "Productivity in the Japanese Factory," and "Continuity and Change in Japanese Industry."

The author's central point concerning the social organization of the Japanese factory is what he terms the "lifetime commitment," which is also the "critical difference" between the Japanese and American factory organizations. According to Mr. Abegglen, the worker at whatever level (excepting the day laborer) commits himself to his company for his entire working career, and in turn the company assumes responsibility for his lifetime support. "He [the worker] is a member of the company in a way resembling that in which persons are members of families, fraternal organizations, and other intimate and personal groups in the United States" (p. 11). "Loyalty to the group and an interchange of responsibilities—a system of shared obligation—take the

place of the economic basis of employment of worker by the firm" (p. 17), the author says.

He not only demonstrates convincingly the pervading influence of the lifetime commitment on recruitment, compensation, incentive, promotion, social welfare, and productivity but also makes clear that it is neither as outlandish nor as inefficient and wasteful as it might appear from the American point of view. The system is not perfect, but it works and, above all, it makes sense in the social context in which the Japanese factory functions.

Beyond its concentration on the specific problems of the Japanese factory system, the book develops two other major themes: the relationship between the organization of the factory and the patterns of Japanese society and the relevance of the Japanese experience to those societies just now addressing themselves to industrialization.

"If a single conclusion were to be drawn from this study," Mr. Abegglen writes on p. 129, "it would be that the development of industrial Japan has taken place with much less change from the kinds of social organization and social relations of preindustrial or nonindustrial Japan than would be expected from the Western model of the growth of an industrial society." And in regard to the second theme he writes on p. 135, "Efforts to change the economy of other nations in the direction of industrialization might better then be concerned with an identification of basic elements of the preindustrial social system and with the introduction of new technologies and financial systems in the context of the older relationships, than with making these nations over in the image derived from Western outcomes."

The former statement will undoubtedly be vigorously debated by scholars interested in the analysis of the development of modern Japanese society, but the author has given new substance to the discussion of this perennial issue. Although there is nothing essentially new in the second quotation, the author, through his careful examination of the Japanese example, has provided what seems to me to be a more concrete and consequently more meaningful approach.

Footnotes are kept at an absolute (to some, perhaps, an undesirable) minimum. There is no bibliography. These are not deficiencies, given the author's approach and the fact that his main source of information was his own firsthand observation. The following are a few errors that happened to strike my eye: "Tsura" for "Tsuru" in the "Acknowledgments"; "pp. 72–73" instead of "pp. 61–62" in footnote 1 on page 52; and the switching of the titles of Chapters 7 and 8 in the text (pp. 110 and 122).

Abegglen makes his points neither by smothering the reader in a

sludge of statistics nor by tranquilizing him with the jargon-coated glib generalization. He obviously had an extremely clear perception and understanding of his problem and his objectives before he started to write and then developed his material and his themes expertly. The result is a model of clarity and intellectual modesty which not only informs the reader but challenges him to further thought.

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Leadership Behavior: Its Description and Measurement. Ed. by Ralph Stogdill and Alvin E. Coons. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1957. 168 pp. $2.00.

Shortly after World War II, Carroll Shartle and his associates at Ohio State University initiated a ten-year study of leadership. Shartle's recent book, *Executive Performance and Leadership,* reviews the general philosophy of this endeavor, and a number of monographs are available reporting the details of research results. John Hemphill of the research group brought to the endeavor a technique for the measurement of group dimensionality and developed a technique for describing the behavior of leaders. The present volume details the development of the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire and discusses its application in many settings: to student populations, in industry, to military groups, and in education.

The editors of this book, Stogdill and Coons, have condensed the results of some eleven studies, most of which have been published previously in considerably longer form. All of the authors consider the characteristics of the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ), but three articles, by Hemphill and Coons, by Halpin and Wener, and by Stogdill, Jaynes, and Scott, are concerned with a careful statistical study of the reliability and factorial composition of the LBDQ. It is amply demonstrated that these scales, even fairly short variants, are sufficiently reliable for group use. But the factorial structure of the descriptions of leadership is quite surprising. Originally it was supposed that leadership behavior would need to be described in terms of a number of dimensions such as integration, communications, production emphasis, organization, initiation, domination—indeed, ten dimensions were originally hypothesized. One hundred and fifty

items were selected to measure these categories and administered to diverse populations: students, teachers, workers, airmen, and others. When the interrelation among the various scales was factor-analyzed, only two strong factors emerged. They were labeled consideration and initiating structure.

This finding that leadership behavior can be described in terms of a very limited number of dimensions does not stand alone. This reviewer (in *Personnel Psychology*, 1954, 477–484) has summarized considerable evidence indicating that leadership and group behavior are amenable to rather comprehensive description in terms of two or three variables. It is, however, disturbing to find that the items and weights making up the descriptive scales seem to shift considerably depending on the population studied. Although the two scales are based on orthagonal factor analyses, when they are applied to different populations their intercorrelations become quite significant, as high as .61 for some groups. This raises the old problem of rater halo error, which plagues so many studies based on ratings rather than actual observations of behavior. Even with these limitations the LBDQ is undoubtedly the best standardized and developed scale now available for describing leadership behavior where actual observations are impractical.

A number of reports by Halpin, Rush, Hemphill, Seeman, Fleishman, and Bass discuss the application of the LBDQ to military crew and commanders, school administrators, salesmen, line production workers, foremen, college department members, and others. Each study has a somewhat different focus, but generally an attempt is made to relate the dimensions of consideration and initiating structure to some criterion of group effectiveness. At first glance the results are inconsistent, but a more careful consideration points out an important, but often forgotten, fact. The judgment of leadership goodness is related to who does the judging and to the situation in which the leader is being judged. As an example, when airplane commanders are judged by their crew members, those scoring high in consideration are judged the best leaders, but the superiors of these commanders tend to put negative emphasis on this factor. They judge commanders with high initiating-structure scores as the good commanders. Studies in an academic setting of elementary-school superintendents and college administrators would indicate that consideration is a more important factor than initiative.

Two variants of the LBDQ called the Supervisory Behavior Description and the Leadership Opinion Questionnaire have been developed by Fleishman. These scales have been administered to several different military and industrial groups. The results indicate that the measures

are relatively independent of measures of intelligence and personality. Although most validities reported for the scales are rather low, the research worker in leadership and group behavior will find them of use. Similarly those in industry concerned with describing the leadership pattern of foremen and supervisors will find well-developed instruments available for their use.

In some ways it is regrettable that the editors did not sum up the results of all this research. What guiding principles have emerged? Where does the research go from here? Even so, we should be grateful for having easily available in condensed form so many well-conducted and interesting studies in the important area of leadership.

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Political Power and the Governmental Process. By Karl Lowenstein. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, 451 pp. $6.00.

Power as one of the most prevalent phenomena of political and social life can be viewed in a number of ways. It may be studied as a synonym for sovereignty—the manner in which the authoritative power of the state is organized and expressed—or it may be viewed as a complex of social, economic, and psychological forces that constantly interact and impinge, indeed, very often determine the manner in which sovereign power will be exercised. It is very unfortunate that Professor Lowenstein in this volume has done the former while promising to give us a comprehensive study of the anatomy and the physiology of power as a societal rather than as a governmental force. The excitement he so well conveys to the reader in the first chapter in which he suggests the development of a new science, that of "cratology"—the study of power and influence—soon gives way to a feeling of futility as the author proceeds with the familiar enumeration of governmental forms, constitutionalism, autocracy, and authoritarianism, and with the patterns of political organization in each but particularly in constitutionalism. With reference to constitutionalism the whole burden of analysis remains limited to the study of formal controls (vertical and horizontal according to the author): the constitution, relations between organs of government and between the organs of government and the electorate, and, among the vertical controls, federalism, individual liberties, and pluralism.

It is not surprising that the author limits himself to the examination of governmental structures. A "sociological approach" however suggestive, he points out with some justice, cannot provide for an adequate categorization because it "transcends our present methodological equipment" (p. 27). But one wonders if his criterion based upon "power" (i.e., governmental power) throws any light upon political phenomena. "Shared exercise and control of political power or concentrated exercise without control are the conceptual framework for the basic dichotomy of the political system in constitutionalism and autocracy" (p. 29). This is, of course, as old as Aristotle and perhaps the last and only word of political science on the matter of the classification of political forms. But how relevant is it in the study of political processes and functions? How relevant is it to analyzing totalitarian systems? How relevant is it to study and comparison between one party, two-party, and multiparty systems? How relevant is it in explaining the manner in which interest is articulated in various political systems and decisions are made? That it may be relevant I doubt not; but how and in what sense the author never tells us. For once the basic dichotomy has been made, what follows is an institutional description of how this dichotomy is institutionalized at the formal governmental level. The book is in a sense a comparative study of governmental forms viewed from the angle of how sovereignty is organized. It is the old question that exhausted political speculation in the nineteenth century and with it exhausted the topic. That it comes back again may be a sign of its vitality. But one wishes that this vitality were shown in meaningful manner rather than in the form of formal classifications and abstract categorizations that, like the new sociological theory, often verge upon scholasticism.

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Some Applications of Behavioural Research. Ed. by Rensis Likert and Samuel P. Hayes, Jr. New York: UNESCO Publications Center, 1957. 333 pp. $3.25.

This broad-gauged book will be of great interest to both operators and scientists who want to develop the administrative sciences. Published through UNESCO's Division of Applied Social Sciences, the book was developed by the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior from an impressive series of research-reporting seminars with

utilizers of social science from 1954 to 1956. The seven authors integrated research reports and application discussions from the seminars into very attractive and readable documents. The result is an inspiring presentation of the state of the social sciences and their utilization in the United States at the mid-century.

Readers of this *Quarterly* will be especially interested in S. F. Seashore's summaries of the seminars on "administrative leadership and organizational effectiveness" and "training of leaders for effective human relations." The treatment of the problem of balance among objectives, between "hard" productivity and "soft" group maintenance goals (pp. 55–60), is typical of the boldness with which the seminars tackled areas of critical importance. Especially effective is the discussion of the conditional nature of leadership principles (pp. 61–68), in which contrasting organizational effects were illustrated when the same principles were applied under differing situations. Yet the gap between the research reports and problems posed by the practitioners seemed to be greatest in these seminars, as is illustrated in the discussions of such practical problems as "selling the safety glasses programme" and "training the supervisor to delegate authority."

Hollis W. Peter's chapter on "human factors in research administration" treats both individual factors and group factors in scientific performance. The research base was broader in this series of seminars, including reports on the work of many outside Michigan's Institute of Social Research—such as the fascinating work of Saunders and of Shepard. Pelz's work on research laboratory leadership again emphasized the conditional nature of many of the social-science findings reported in this volume. He found in checking the performance of scientists that those groups performed best when leadership was predominantly permissive only if there was daily contact between the section chief and the scientists—for with little contact, permissive leadership was as ineffective as more directive leadership styles.

The chapter on "group influence in marketing and public relations" was prepared by Francis S. Bourne of the Bureau of Applied Social Research and contains many new data, unreported to this time, on the effects of the object (product or idea) in conditioning the effects of a reference group's influence upon the decision-making "public." Some will find the recent insightful researches on the adoption of new professional practices (medical and agricultural) of special relevance. The chapter highlights the importance of having specific data about particular objects and groups in order to make successful applications, in addition to having an adequate but more general theory of social influence.

The chapters on the "training for foreign nationals" and the use of

"psychological surveys in business forecasting" will be of more interest to the specialist than to the general administrator—although, again, basic problems in the application of social science are exhibited in both. Both sets of seminars emphasize the conditional nature of social-science findings—and both demonstrate the extreme importance of having specific data for the particular situation in which the utilizer wants to make application of more general social theory. In the chapter on economic surveys by Irving Morrisett the ability of psychologists to predict economic phenomena is illustrated. Lesser and Peter's chapter on the impact of visits of foreign nationals is startling in its implications as to the potential negative effects intercountry exchanges may produce. Yet the research data supporting this chapter are thinner than in any other, despite the large sums being expended by administrators on exchange programs.

Although the book concerns itself, by and large, with substantive findings, there is discussion of enough problems in methodology to give reality. The treatments of sampling problems and reporting errors are presented in contexts which aid the reader in realizing how intimately bound are substance and method.

Likert's opening chapter on the use of the behavioral sciences in guiding effective action contains exciting examples drawn from his rich experience as a social engineer over the past quarter-century in government and industry. Hayes's short closing chapter on problems in securing utilization, Likert's comments about creating realistic expectations with respect to research returns, about methods of inducing co-operative rather than defensive attitudes in the utilizers, and about how evaluation can be used both for feedback into the research itself and for calculation of payoffs—all are of great relevance.

The main limitations of this book are those of the behavioral sciences, not of the editors or the contributors. In providing an overview which is sound in its base and practical in implication these scholars may help administrators in business and government realize the benefits which will come from expansion of the social sciences. Indeed, after reading this book, one finds it difficult to understand why but 1 per cent of our total national expenditures on research and development is devoted to the social sciences. Here is the new frontier—when will we begin in earnest to "R and D" its potential?

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Abstracts

The Administrative Process. Robert H. Roy. Baltimore, 1958. 236 pp. Available from The Johns Hopkins Press, Homewood, Baltimore 18, Md. Price, $5.00.

This book is designed to be of practical help to the executive faced with today's administrative problems, which are quite different from those of only a decade ago. Drawing on his extensive practical experience in industry, the author has put together a problem-solving guide for modern management. The author makes the point that the attributes of administration are essentially similar in all walks of organized activity: industrial, social, academic, military, mercantile, governmental, or religious. He admits that he will not be able to prove this but hopes to be able to establish many points of identity in his book. Extensive use is made of case histories throughout the book. These essays make no claim to comprehend the whole field of administration; they do aim to reveal some attributes of administration which appear to be neglected in practice and to have escaped extensive analysis in the literature.

Assessing Managerial Potential. Reports of February and March, 1957, Seminars in Ann Arbor, Mich., and Ardsley-on-Hudson, N.Y. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1958. 83 pp. Available from The Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, 1141 E. Catherine St., Ann Arbor, Mich. Single copy, $3.00.

Selection of the best potential managerial personnel available, and their placement and optimum development are major goals of management today. There is an acute need for improved methods of assessing the actual performance of executives, for determining the potential ability of those being considered for managerial positions,

and for appraising programs aimed at developing the skills, attitudes, and abilities needed in management. These seminars were held to review "where we are today" in appraising and predicting the effectiveness of executive personnel. Forty-nine persons representing thirty-four different industrial organizations considered the following major areas: the problem area in general; important considerations in determining the effectiveness of executives; exploratory research leading to improved criteria of managerial effectiveness; management assessment techniques; practical problems in conducting behavioral research; and the point where further significant contributions can be expected. This critical review of recent research provides no ten easy answers to company problems, but it does provide specific leads for improving programs.

Decision Theory and Operations Research. Kenneth J. Arrow. *Operations Research*, 5 (Dec. 1957), 765–774. Available from the Business Manager, Operations Research, Mount Royal and Guilford Aves., Baltimore 2, Md. Single copy, $1.50.

As it has grown up in recent years, decision theory is a formalization of the problems involved in making optimal choices. In a certain sense —a very abstract sense, to be sure—it incorporates among others operations research, theoretical economics, and wide areas of statistics. The author feels that no problem in science is ever completely solved, and he advances the thesis that the open and tentative character of operations research, and of all scientific analysis, can itself be discussed in terms of decision theory. The effect of the passing of time on research is pointed out and discussed especially in terms of the accumulation of information which occurs. The problem of inventory control is discussed in mathematical terms, taking probable demand into consideration. The over-all theme of the author seems to be that there always will be new problems to solve and that in operations research one must state the problem under consideration as if it were closed in order that it may be solved, and yet its elements must always contain within themselves the possibility of fitting into a larger model.

Elementary Conditions of Business Morals. Chester I. Barnard. Berkeley, Calif., 1958. 39 pp. Available from the Committee on the Barbara Weinstock Lectures, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. No price given.

Publications in this series, of which this is the twenty-fourth, contain essays by scholars and men of affairs dealing with various phases of the

moral law in its bearing on business life, first given as lectures at the University of California on the Weinstock Foundation. This lecture, delivered in May 1955, is a result of reflection by the author upon long personal experience in a wide variety of organizations—business, governmental, and philanthropic—with extensive opportunity for observation. Barnard discusses his definition of morality, the varieties of morals existent in business, the conflicts of responsibility, and methods of resolving these conflicts. In the conclusion it is pointed out that the author has barely touched upon an underlying situation and a set of problems which he feels no one adequately comprehends. It is not known to any wide degree what are the number and the character of the moral problems that are faced by those who direct business enterprise. The thought is advanced that there is a great opportunity for universities to develop this area since there is some doubt that operating persons can be sufficiently adept and objective to give appropriate study to the nature of the moral problems they face.

An Exploration of the Application of the Theory of Games to the Supreme Court Decision-making Process. James Peter Meloney. East Lansing, Mich., 1958. 30 pp. Available from the Governmental Research Bureau, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. No price given.

Although much has been written about the theory of games and its applicability in the field of the behavioral sciences, the applications made have been primarily hypothetical war games and reformulations of economic theory. Few people have been interested in attempting game-theory analyses of actual, particularly political, situations. There was a burgeoning of such publications on game theory in 1954 and 1955 ushering in the "new era." The consensus was that here was a new tool for analysis and prediction. But game theory was a highly complex and abstract mathematical formulation. Many of those who read in the field of game theory and were made aware of its present limitations became discouraged, settling merely for the exploitation of game-theory terminology. The author attempts to apply a game-theory formulation to the Supreme Court decision-making process, utilizing a set of four cases, the *Insular Cases,* as a point of departure for discussing game-theory concepts. A formal game-theory analysis of the 1936 term is presented, and, in conclusion, there is an evaluation of game theory as an analytic tool in this area of decision making.

The Higher Public Service of the Commonwealth of Australia. Howard A. Scarrow. Durham, N.C., and Cambridge University Press, Lon-

don, Eng., 1957. 180 pp. Available from the Duke University Press, Durham, N.C. $3.50.

Australian political institutions, influenced by both the British and the American example, have acquired distinctive features of their own. The development of one of these institutions, the higher public service of the commonwealth (or federal) government is the subject of this small volume by Mr. Scarrow, who is executive secretary of the Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center. The study traces the growth of the commonwealth public service in the light of the expanded role of government in the life of the Australian nation and examines the evolution of the machinery of personnel administration. For political scientists and students of comparative administration the author has presented a case study of bureaucracy in a modern democratic state.

How to Choose a Leadership Pattern. Robert Tannenbaum and Warren H. Schmidt. *Harvard Business Review*, 36 (March-April 1958), 95–101. Available from the Business Office, Harvard Business Review, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, Mass. Single copy, $2.00.

Should a leader be democratic or autocratic in dealing with his subordinates—or should he be something in between? The problem of how the modern manager can be "democratic" in his relations with subordinates and at the same time maintain the necessary authority and control in the organization for which he is responsible has come into focus increasingly in recent years. Earlier in the century this problem was not so acutely felt. The successful executive was generally pictured as possessing intelligence, imagination, initiative, the capacity to make rapid (and generally wise) decisions, and the ability to inspire subordinates. People tended to think of the world as being divided into leaders and followers. The various ramifications of this relatively recent development are presented, as are employee attitudes under different types of leadership. There are forces which affect the behavior of both the employer and the employee in the light of the characteristics of each situation. The successful leader is keenly aware of these forces, and, further, he is one who is able to behave appropriately in the light of these perceptions.

The Jungle of Hugeness. Kenneth E. Boulding. *The Saturday Review* March 1, 1958, pp. 11–13, 50. Available from Saturday Review, Inc., 25 W. 45th St., New York 36, N.Y. Single copy, $.25.

The *optimum* size of any organization depends on the *kind* of organization it is. Hence organisms are limited in size by a principle (the

Brontosaurus Principle) which states that, up to a point, the bigger the better; beyond that point, the bigger the worse. This principle applies to all structures. However it might not be so worrisome if we were not still in the middle of what the author calls the Organizational Revolution, which is tending, in the case of corporations at least, toward ever greater degrees of hugeness. There is a scale barrier which tends to limit the size to which organizations will grow, and the history of organizations shows that, after this point is passed, crises tend to wreak havoc in the large groups whereas the small and nimble survive. This gives hope to the small organizations in our society. Two major weaknesses that manifest themselves in a crisis situation are the breakdown of the internal communications system and the tendency for disloyalty as a result of an insufficient number of top place in the society to satisfy those ambitious souls who wish to occupy them. Also, the Principle of Interstices supports the belief that small organizations can survive in and around the large groups. The author feels that the defense against the harm of hugeness lies in three areas: the superior-subordinate relationship, constitutionality, and the labor market.

Laurentian Candidate: Adrano Olivetti. E. A. Bayne. New York, 1958. 41 pp. Available from American Universities Field Staff, 522 Fifth Ave., New York 36, N.Y. No price given.

This publication is one of a continuing series on current developments in world affairs. This particular item is a profile of Adriano Olivetti, general manager of the Olivetti typewriter company in Ivrea, Italy. Although much of the publication discusses Olivetti's political theory, it has interest for the student of administration because of a fairly detailed description of the Olivetti Company organization and operation. The Olivetti Company employs nearly 25,000 persons in six factories in Italy and four factories in other countries, in sales and service centers throughout Italy, in sales organizations (subsidiary companies) in fifteen countries, and in agencies everywhere outside the Soviet orbit. It is a family-held enterprise and exports 60 per cent of its total production. Employees of the company enjoy free bus transportation from rural areas, company housing developments, and pleasant working conditions. Production is operated under the particularly European quota concept, which allows fairly leisurely production and permits workers to relax in the plant on company time after their quota has been met. The emphasis in this type of system is on the man and his skill rather than on the machine. The article points out the differences between Italian and American social systems which tend to

explain why a higher degree of company paternalism is currently accepted by Italian than by American workers.

The Making of an Administrator. A. Dunsire, ed. Manchester, Eng., 1956. 125 pp. Available from the Manchester University Press, 316–324 Oxford Rd., Manchester 13, Eng. Price, $1.50.

The lectures included in this volume were delivered at Exeter to commemorate the centenary of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report on the organization of the British civil service. This series of lectures by distinguished contributors has as its aim the same order of thinking about the genus "administrator" as Northcote and Trevelyan stimulated in their time. The subjects covered in the lectures include "Administration: What is it? and How can it be learnt?;" "Educating the Administrator"; "Management and the Administrator"; "The Administrator in Local Government"; and "The Responsibility of the Administrator." In these areas the contributors chose their own themes, and many of the questions that often arise in considerations of administration and administrators are discussed. There is a section at the end of the volume in which the editor attempts to draw the lectures together.

Management's Responsibility to Society: The Growth of an Idea. Morrell Heald. *The Business History Review,* 31 (Winter 1957), 375–384. Available from the Business History Review, 217 Baker Library, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, Mass. Subscription, $10 annually.

Even in laissez-faire days there was a "corporate conscience," well defined and with active, if limited, manifestations. Over the course of years not only criticism but changing social forces and modifications of the economic system itself exerted a broadening influence on the attitude of American business toward its public responsibilities. This article is concerned with the history of the current approach on the part of management to its social relations which leads management to recognize an obligation to the society it serves not only for maximum economic performance but for humane and constructive social policies as well. It discusses briefly the views concerning the social responsibility of corporations as expressed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Owen D. Young, Henry Ford, Edward A. Filene, and Frank W. Abrams.

Mathematical Models of Human Behavior. Proceedings of a Symposium sponsored by Dunlop and Associates, Inc., and the Commission on Accidental Trauma, Armed Forces Epidemiological Board. Stam-

ford, Conn., second printing, 1957. 103 pp. Available from Dunlap and Associates, Inc., 429 Atlantic St., Stamford, Conn. No price given.

This volume consists of papers presented at a symposium conducted in 1954. The symposium was arranged after it was discovered in the course of an exploration of the possibilities of applying mathematical techniques to the study of accidents that many of the problems were similar to those in other fields. The problems arising in the construction of mathematical models of accidents were much the same as those encountered by individuals developing models in the fields of economics, psychology, sociology, and mathematics. The conference participants were experts who had a common interest in the development of methodological techniques for studying human behavior. The publication of the papers presented by these individuals seeks to illuminate some of the objectives and methodological problems involved in the development and application of behavioral models. These include a formalization of behavioral concepts, the explanation of behavioral observations, experimental inference from behavioral data, and the development and testing of behavioral theories.

Measuring Organizational Performance. Rensis Likert. *Harvard Business Review*, 36 (March-April 1958), 41–50. Available from the Business Office, Harvard Business Review, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, Mass. Single copy, $2.00.

Progress in the social sciences now enables management to gauge the results of different types of supervision in terms of production and human assets. Decentralization and delegation are powerful concepts based on sound theory. But there is evidence that, as now utilized, they have a serious vulnerability that can be costly. This vulnerability arises from the measurements being used to evaluate and reward the performance of those given authority over decentralized operations. The situation is becoming worse because of the fact that human assets of organizations such as loyalty, motivation, confidence, and trust are being dissipated because of the greater use of work measurements and measurements of end results in evaluating managers. The article discusses the traditional theory of management and the modified theory of control and also presents findings of several studies in the area of attitude, motivation, and performance. It proposes certain variables that can be measured and that will provide adequate appraisals of the quality and performance capacity of the human organization of a company.

On the Theory of Negotiation. Carl M. Stevens. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics.* 72 (Feb. 1958), 77–97. Available from the Harvard University Press, 79 Garden St., Cambridge 38, Mass. Single copy, $1.50.

The author states that there is real need for a good theory of the negotiation process since the number and importance of the economic and other transactions (and interactions) thus mediated are substantial. No general statement of negotiation has emerged as yet. This article suggests the adaptation of a psychological choice theory model to the analysis of negotiation. Collective bargaining over terms and conditions of employment is used as an example of the negotiation process. The format of the analysis is, however, intended to be applicable to negotiations of many kinds. These would include, for example, not only negotiations which are part of economic relations in the usual sense of the term, but also negotiations which may be part of intranational and international political relations. Emphasis is upon developing the analytical framework rather than upon application of this framework to particular problems. The major points are a description of the choice theory model to be used in the analysis; an explanation, in terms of the model, of why the parties negotiate at all; an analysis, in terms of the model, of the negotiation process itself; an application of the model to the disputed problem of the "real" function of the so-called basic criteria used in wage negotiations; and an explanation of five analytically separable ways in which negotiation may terminate.

Performance Appraisal and the Organization Man. Thomas L. Shisler. *The Journal of Business,* 31 (Jan. 1958), 19–27. Available from the University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill. Single copy, $2.25.

The application of traditional merit-rating techniques to the appraisal of managers has been unsatisfactory. Line management tends to treat such techniques lightly or to oppose them actively. The argument set forth in this article is that the power and dependence ("God-man") features of the hierarchical organization seen by some writers in this area are inevitable and ineradicable unless some modification is made in organizational structure. Traditional rating plans fail because the pay-off rules of the organization encourage such failure. These pay-off rules are a logical outgrowth of the power structure of the organization. The form of structure modification suggested here is a permanent arrangement for "special assignments," removing a man from the authority of his superior and placing him in the care of a

top-level executive committee. The article is devoted in the main to presenting the case for structural modification of the organization to achieve better manager appraisal and the case against two other approaches to the problem: the traditional personnel management approach of rating by managers and the consultative rating-session approach.

The Prospects of a Unified Theory of Organization. Olaf Helmer. *Management Science,* 4 (Jan. 1958), 172–176. Available from the Business Manager, Harold H. Cauvet, 250 North St., White Plains, N.Y. Single copy, $2.50.

Despite the success of numerous sporadic efforts in the study of organization, there is at present no unified theory of organization. This would require a clearcut conceptual apparatus and a methodology for prediction. To achieve the former within the foreseeable future it might be wise to tie into the existing terminology of game theory; the latter may require taking a new look at the psychological problems involved and introducing an operations research approach to them. The article discusses some possible remedies to the present undesirable situation with regard to both concepts and methods. It is hoped thereby that the prospects and the importance of eventually achieving something like a unified theory of organizations will be clarified. The study of organizations offers great opportunities to operations research, with substantial pay-offs to industrial, business, research, and military organizations.

A Scalogram Analysis of the Right to Counsel Decisions of the Supreme Court, 1940–1957. Emory T. Trosper, Jr. East Lansing, Mich., 1958. 26 pp. Available from the Governmental Research Bureau, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. No price given.

This study uses a three-pronged approach to the scalogram analysis of right to counsel cases. First, it concerns itself with the scalability of the cases in order to demonstrate the existence of an attitude continuum. Secondly, "zones of indecision" of justices conforming to the scale pattern have been examined. Thirdly, deviant votes (i.e., votes inconsistent with the scale) have been examined. The study establishes that within the United States Supreme Court there are certain well-structured sets of attitudes that seem to be shared, though differentially, by the justices. Through the scalogram analysis it is possible to focus, not only on those votes that appear as pivotal for particular justices, but upon those votes that appear as inconsistent for certain justices.

Hence break points as well as inconsistent votes provide a basis for the detection of the critical factors in the attitudes of the justices.

Social Audit of the Enterprise. Fred H. Blum. *Harvard Business Review,* 36 (March-April 1958), 77–86. Available from the Business Office, Harvard Business Review, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, Mass. Single copy, $2.00.

The idea that workers are to be respected as individual human beings with a sense of dignity may come easily and instinctively or slowly and reluctantly but every businessman feels it. Also, taking pride in being practical, every businessman recognizes an apparent (though not automatic) cause-and-effect relationship between the human or social side and the dollars-and-cents side of his enterprise. This well-accepted concept, however, dodges the real issue because it clearly gives the company's goals—efficiency, profit, and share of the market—as the highest priority and simply considers people as one of the tools to be used to reach those goals. If the development of the people in the company and the fulfillment of their needs were made a primary or co-ordinate objective, along with financial success, would we see them differently than we now do—and perhaps act differently toward them? The author discusses this question at length in the light of a survey that he recently conducted in a Philadelphia company.

The Social History of an Egyptian Factory. William Morris Carson. *The Middle East Journal,* 11 (Autumn 1957), 361–370. Available from The Middle East Journal, 1761 N. St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Single copy, $1.50.

This study points out the great effects that social and political structure may have upon administration and organization. The factory, which is described under a fictitious name, was founded in 1927 with a complete secondhand plant bought in England. It has been reconditioned and rebuilt until it is now the most modern industrial enterprise in Egypt, producing more than 20 per cent of all Egyptian cotton cloth. The author traces the growth of the factory from its inception and explains how the fortunes of the mill waxed and waned as the strength of the monarchy and the nationalists grew in relation to, and at the expense of, the British. Both national and historical backgrounds shaped the organization and determined in whose hands control of the mill would lie. The local setting was, however, equally important in day-to-day mill operations. The article analyzes at some length the political, social, and historical considerations which deter-

mined such things as the location of the factory, the composition of its labor force, the relationship of the workers to the social structure of the town, and the political groups and forces which permeated both the traditional and the factory sections of the town.

Social Mobility and the American Business Elite. Richard Bendix and Frank W. Howton. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 8, 9, (Dec. 1957 and March 1958), 357–369 and 1–14. Available from Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., Broadway House, 68–74 Carter Lane, London E.C. 4, Eng. Single copy, $1.75.

The composition of the American business elite has been studied repeatedly during the last twenty years. As in studies of other "power-wielding elites," the purpose has been to tabulate social origins, age distributions, marital statuses, educational backgrounds, career patterns, and changes over time. This series of two articles presents the three types of judgments that have been used in studies of the American business elite and discusses the merits and drawbacks of each. The second article compares the findings of the authors with those of other studies on this subject. The random sample used in this study consists of every ninth businessman who was born between 1771 and 1920 and who is included in three standard biographical works. The study finds that the proportion of business leaders coming from middle-class and working-class families has not changed greatly over time. The over-all finding of the study is that the recruitment of the American business elite has remained remarkably stable.

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